

Violence Against Women Among Palestinian Refugees in Jordan

Investigating the Patriarchal Hypothesis

Gjermund Granlund



Master Thesis in Sociology
Department of Sociology and Human Geography

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Spring 2014

© Gjermund Granlund

2014

Violence against Women among the Palestinian Refugees in Jordan: Investigating the Patriarchal hypothesis

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Print: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

IV

Summary

Can patriarchal theory explain why Palestinian men in Jordan both inside and outside refugee camps beat their wives?

International sociological research on domestic violence is dominated by two perspectives on domestic violence; the feminist perspective where gender and patriarchal structures are highlighted, and the family violence perspective with a more gender neutral focus on socioeconomic variables. An argument is also made that when introducing a qualitative aspect which distinguishes between moderate and severe violence in quantitative surveys, the characteristics of the perpetrators change.

Research on domestic violence in Jordan is scarce. However, what exists of empirical research accentuates how men's patriarchal attitudes are associated with heightened risk of perpetrating violence against women. Few, if no, socioeconomic variables are consistently associated with violence in Jordan, of which the research concludes that the violence has sociocultural roots.

In this thesis I investigate whether the feminist perspective contributes with satisfactory explanations for why Palestinian men in Jordan beat their wives, and whether an analytical distinction between moderate and severe violence contributes to the explanation.

I perform logistic regression analysis on data in Palestinian refugees in Jordan residing inside and outside refugee camps from two complementary surveys collected by Fafo Applied International Research in 2011-2012.

The explanatory power of patriarchal theory as operationalized in the analysis is limited. However, when distinguishing between moderate and severe violence we see that men and women, both inside and outside the refugee camps, with higher education have significantly lower odds for experiencing violence, men as perpetrators and women as victims. As men's education has never been significantly associated with violence before it is concluded that the analytical distinction between moderate and severe violence might explain the inconsistency between studies of violence in Jordan, as argued in a larger research field. The same finding

also contributes toward explaining why the prevalence of severe violence is twice as high in refugee camps, where the overall educational attainments are substantially lower.

In addition to the finding related to education the results show that patriarchal attitudes may contribute some toward explaining the prevalence of moderate violence.

Acknowledgements

As the great Norwegian poet Olav H. Hauge would say, *Eg er ein audmjuk mann*. This thesis is the result of several years of hard work, and I take off my hat and bow my head to all those who have made its completion possible. I would like to thank my supervisor Torkild H. Lyngstad at the University of Oslo, who introduced me to the world of statistics and allowed me to explore the secrets of quantitative research at my own pace. I would also like to thank Åge Tiltne at Fafo Applied International Studies who gave me access to the data used in this thesis. Huafeng Zhang, who was also most helpful when I needed it. I would also like to thank all the other people who helped me in the process, whether encouraging, inspiring, or proof reading. Especially I would like to thank Kristian T. Kindt, Ida J. W. Kjeøy and Carmen C. T. F. Dalseng.

Table of Contents

Summary	V
Acknowledgements	VII
Table of Contents	X
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Questions.....	3
1.2 Research Design	3
1.3 Structure.....	4
2 Theory	5
2.1 Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Domestic Violence	5
2.2 The Feminist Perspective.....	5
2.3 The Family Violence Perspective.....	7
2.4 Critique and Moving Beyond	8
2.5 Education, Employment and Income – Economic or Symbolic Resources?	10
2.6 Intimate Terrorism Versus Situational Partner Violence	11
2.7 Summary.....	12
3 The Middle East and North Africa –the Violent Patriarchy?.....	14
3.1 Research on Patriarchy in the MENA	15
3.2 Patriarchy and Violence.....	17
3.3 Patriarchy and Jordan	18
3.4 Summing Up.....	21
4 Violence against Women in Jordan.....	22
4.1 Physical violence – Prevalence.....	23
4.1.1 Physical Violence – Characteristics of Perpetrator and Victim	25
4.2 Attitudes Toward Violence – Prevalence	27
4.2.1 Attitude Towards Violence – Characteristics of Perpetrator and Victim.....	27
4.3 Qualitative Studies.....	29
4.4 Concluding Remarks	30

5	Hypotheses: Investigating Patriarchy	31
5.1	RQ1: The Explanatory Power of Patriarchy	31
5.1.1	Attitudes Toward Women’s Autonomy	31
5.1.2	Freedom of Movement	32
5.1.3	Attitudes Toward a Girl’s Choice of Spouse	32
5.1.4	Attitudes Towards Violence	33
5.1.5	Education.....	33
5.1.6	Employment	34
5.2	RQ2: Moderate and Severe Violence	35
6	Research Design and Method.....	36
6.1	The Datasets	36
6.2	Sampling	37
6.2.1	Outside the Camps	37
6.2.2	Inside the Camps	38
6.2.3	Dependent Variables	38
6.2.4	Independent variables.....	39
6.2.5	Control variables	42
6.3	The Filtering Process	43
6.3.1	Variations in sample A and B: Outside and Inside Camps	44
6.4	Generalizability	47
6.5	Logistic Regression Analysis and Significance Testing.....	48
6.6	Conclusion	48
7	Descriptive Statistics	50
7.1	Dependent Variable: Violence.....	50
	Independent Variables.....	51
8	Analysis	53
8.1	Key Findings from the Analysis	54
8.2	Presentation of the Logistic Analysis	54
8.2.1	Men Outside Camps	54
8.2.2	Men Inside Camps.....	57
8.2.3	Women Outside Camps.....	60

8.2.4	Women Inside Camps	64
8.3	Keeping or Rejecting the Hypotheses	64
8.4	Summary of Research Findings.....	70
9	Discussion	72
9.1	Concluding Remarks and Future Research	76
10	Sources	79

List of Maps and Tables

Map 1. Map of Jordan, showing Palestinian Refugee Camps.....	21
Table 6.1 Differences between Unfiltered and Filtered Sample, Outside Camp Data Set.....	45
Table 6.2 Differences between unfiltered and filtered sample, inside camp data set	46
Table 7.1: Descriptive statistics, dependent variables.....	50
Table 7.2: Descriptive statistics, independent variables	52
Table 8.1: Violence Against Women, Men Outside Camps, Logistic Regression	55
Table 8.2: Violence against women, men inside camp, logistic regression.....	58
Table 8.3: Ever Experienced Physical Violence, Women Outside Camp, Logistic Regression	61
Table 8.4: Ever Experienced Physical Violence, Women in Camp, Logistic Regression	63

1 Introduction

Violence against women is a major social problem in the Middle East. Evidence suggests that the region has a higher prevalence and higher acceptance of violence against women than any other region in the world. What can explain these numbers? Who are these violent men, and why do they beat? In the academic and public debate about intimate partner violence in the Middle East and Jordan, patriarchy is often used as the main explanation. In this thesis, I will critically examine the link between patriarchy and violence against women among the Palestinian refugees in Jordan, drawing on two representative surveys conducted in 2011 and 2012.

The theoretical and methodological research on gender-based violence has mainly been developed in the USA, and goes back for more than 40 years (McHugh and Frieze 2006). However, empirical studies on prevalence and possible explanations for violence against women in a multitude of countries across the globe have proliferated in the last decade (Marcus 2007). In the Middle East and North Africa nationally representative surveys have mapped the prevalence of men's violence against women in the majority of the MENA countries. The estimates vary, but it is clear that the region ranks high in terms of prevalence of violence. The World Health Organization suggest that 16-52 per cent of married women in the MENA were physically assaulted the last year by a partner (Krug 2002). Despite the obvious importance and increasing scholarly interest researchers agree that the knowledge of domestic violence in the Middle Eastern region is limited (Boy and Kulczycki 2008, 67). In Jordan, relative to other countries in the MENA region, quite a few studies have mapped violence, and attitudes toward violence, against women. The overall picture is high prevalence in all levels of society (Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani 2010, 443). However, evidence suggests that the prevalence is even higher inside the refugee camps (Khawaja 2004). One important difference between the countries in the MENA and countries in the west is women's justification. On of men's violence (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008, 215). The DHS from 2007 uncovered that 90 per cent of Jordanian women accept that there are at least one reason which justifies men's violence against women (DHS 2007). The majority of the researchers on violence against women in Jordan argue that men's violence predominantly can be explained by patriarchal theory. Many researchers on more general

cultural characteristics of the societies in the MENA agree that the patriarchal structures are prominent (for example Moghadam 2004, Sharabi 1988, Salhi 2013a).

Patriarchal theory is firmly grounded in international research on violence against women. In the early days of the research on domestic violence feminist researchers in the USA argued that men's violence against women could largely be explained by patriarchal theory (Dobash and Dobash 1980, Yllö 1988). However, this theoretical assumption was soon challenged by other sociological researchers, referred to as family violence researchers (Kurz 1989). According to them it was problematic and even faulty to argue that men beat women as a means to suppress women. First of all, it did not explain why so many men did not beat their wives, and second, it made other victims of violence invisible. It was not gender that could explain this violence, but the family as a social institution (for example Straus and Hotaling 1980, Straus 1990, Gelles 1997). More specifically, it was the family's different socio-economic positions in society which made significant contributions toward explaining the differences of prevalence of domestic violence.

As a response to the at times seemingly contradictory theoretical positions between the feminist researchers and the family violence researchers, Michal P. Johnson attempted to bridge the two traditions by arguing that two perspectives investigated two different phenomena (Johnson 1995). Through qualitative interviews the feminist researchers found evidence which supported their patriarchal hypotheses, and which Johnson labeled "intimate terrorism", whereas the family violence researchers through their quantitative surveys found evidence for a more gender-neutral form of violence which Johnson labeled "common couple violence" (Johnson 1995). Johnson argues as well that the "intimate terrorist" can be found in survey data if moderate and severe forms of violence are kept analytically apart, and the control context is underlined. Johnson's proposed typologies have enjoyed much popularity in the research field on domestic violence in North America.

Despite its importance for research on gendered violence in the USA, Johnson's typologies are not widely applied in research on domestic violence in Jordan. In the context of predominantly patriarchal societies in MENA the feminist perspective – with patriarchal theory as the core conceptual tool – has provided satisfactory answers for why men beat women (for example Al-Badayneh 2012, Haj-Yahia 2005, Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani 2010). The family research tradition has criticized the patriarchal claim for decades, but at the same time opens up for that these theories might be more relevant in very patriarchal societies

(Dutton 2006). As Jordan is generally considered a patriarchal society, the case provides a good test to this claim.

1.1 Research Questions

The overarching goal in this thesis is to investigate the causes of violence against women among the Palestinian refugees in Jordan. I will do this by asking two related research questions.

RQ1: Can the feminist perspective with patriarchy as the core theoretical concept explain why Palestinian men in Jordan beat their wives?

Two nationally representative Demography and Health Surveys in Jordan (DHS 2007, 2012) have estimated that the prevalence of violence against women is higher in the Palestinian refugee camps than in the general population. However, no distinction was made between the population outside the camps which consists of both Jordanian with and without Palestinian decent, only between Palestinians residing inside the camps and the rest of the population outside the camps. The data drawn upon in this thesis (see next section) is the first comparable data available on violence against women among Palestinians in Jordan residing both inside *and* outside the refugee camps.

RQ2: Does the analytical distinction between moderate and severe forms of violence provide further evidence for the explanatory force of patriarchal theory in Jordan?

As mentioned in the previous section, Johnson's typology has not yet been tested in a Jordanian setting. As this has shown to contribute significantly in explaining gender based violence in other contexts, it is interesting to investigate whether it can also contribute to our understanding of violence against women in Jordan.

1.2 Research Design

I approach the research questions quantitatively by analyzing survey data from two different Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, conducted by Fafo Institute of Applied International Studies (AIS). The first survey samples randomly selected Palestinian households outside refugee camps in the three governorates of Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid

which comprise of approximately 86 per cent of the Palestinians in Jordan. In addition, I use another survey conducted at about the same time of randomly selected Palestinian households inside 13 refugee camps in the six governorates of Amman, Balqa, Zarqa, Madaba, Irbid, and Jarash. Different sampling weights make it undesirable to merge the two data sets which comprise of the exact same questions. As the data include information of both men who have perpetrated violence and women who have been victims of violence, I will conduct separate analysis of men and women, inside and outside the camps.

1.3 Structure

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the theoretical perspectives on gender based violence, focusing on the feminist tradition and the family research tradition. Attempts at bridging these traditions and critiques of the traditions will be discussed. Chapter three gives background information about patriarchal characteristics of the MENA and Jordan in particular, as well as providing contextual information about the sample population, namely the Palestinian population in Jordan. Chapter four reviews existing research on violence against women in Jordan, and discusses it in the light of the theoretical perspectives presented in chapter 2. Chapter five presents the hypothesis of the thesis which are to be tested. Chapter six is on research and methods, presenting the sample, operationalization of the variables as well as a brief explanation of the analytical methods employed. Chapter 7 presents the descriptive statistics while chapter 8 presents the results of the logistic regression tables. Chapter 9 discusses the hypotheses brought forward in chapter 5 in light of the findings from the logistic regression analysis. Chapter 10 is a summarizing discussion of the theoretical and methodological implications of the findings in this thesis.

2 Theory

2.1 Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Domestic Violence

In the following chapter I will give a brief overview of the existing *sociological* approaches to family violence. In order to investigate the explanation power of the patriarchal theory, we must first understand its origins, and the debates surrounding it. According to Demie Kurz the sociological tradition on partner violence can be divided in two different research schools; the family violence perspective and feminist perspective (Kurz 1989, 490). I will present these two perspectives and its critiques, which will serve as a general introduction to the research field of partner violence. Secondly, I will turn to Michael P. Johnson's proposed re-conceptualization of these schools, distinguishing between what he calls *Common Couple Violence* and *Intimate Terrorism*. Thirdly, I will turn to how the feminist researchers and the family violence researchers disagree on how socioeconomic variables are related to domestic violence. This brief overview will serve as an analytical entry point to reviewing the research on domestic violence from Jordan in chapter four.

2.2 The Feminist Perspective

The core argument among the feminist researchers is that gender is *the* essential explanation for intimate violence (Kurz 1989, 498). The terminology they use is “battered wives”, “wife abuse”, or “violence toward women” to underline that men are the perpetrators and women are the victims of this violence (McHugh and Frieze 2006, 122) (Yllö 2005). Feminist researchers argue that from a historical point of view it is obvious that men use violence to dominate women (Dobash and Dobash 1980, ix) (Saunders 1988, 90) This violence represents a patriarchal order in society (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 15) and is the clearest expression of patriarchal domination (Dobash and Dobash 1980, ix). The status of women is reflected in the cultural beliefs of the hierarchical order, and is supported by legal, religious, and cultural institutions in society (Kurz 1989, 496). These cultural beliefs prescribe different roles in society to men and women (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 6). And if the women do not behave according to the prescribed roles, men are not only entitled to, but almost obliged to sanction her. The feminist perspective stands in contrast to both the psychological explanation where

violence is explained as a symptom of deviance or pathology (Dutton 2005), and the family violence perspective where gender is but one of the explanatory factors (Anderson 1997, 655).

Saunders et al. (1987, 40) write that there is evidence that general attitudes toward women's autonomy and place in society, and attitudes toward violence against women are closely connected (Saunders et al. 1987, 40). This point is integral to the feminist perspective where it is argued that power and violence is sustained at the societal level because as a result of the patriarchal social norms that incorporate and accept male violence (Dobash and Dobash 1980, Pagelow and Pagelow 1984, Yllö 1988). In the general literature on men's violence against women Sugarman and Frankel (1996, 31) found that assaultive males to a greater extent than non-assaultive men accepted violence against their wives. And according to Yllö (2005, 22) the inequality which is inherent in marriage of male domination and female subordination which is the foundation for the patriarchal structures both within and outside the home.

In the data set that I analyze in this thesis, there are four variables measuring patriarchal attitudes: Attitudes toward women's autonomy, attitudes toward violence, attitudes toward choice of daughter's husband, and attitudes towards freedom of movement. These variables capture what Miller (1969, cited in Naved and Persson, 2010:835) defined as the core components of the patriarchal system. The patriarchal ideology is defined as "a) beliefs that legitimize male power and authority over women in marriage, b) a set of attitudes or norms supportive of violence against wives who violate, or who are perceived as violating the ideals of patriarchy."

Feminist researchers in the 70s gathered data mainly from police courts, emergency rooms, and shelters (Johnson 2008, 18, Kurz 1989, 942). The preferred method was in-depth interviews with afflicted women who gave detailed accounts of severe and persistent violence (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 1, Loseke and Kurz 2005, 82). In fact, Kersti Yllö, a central researcher in the feminist tradition, writes that an article of her was rejected from a leading feminist journal because she had used quantitative method which were "inherently patriarchal" (Yllö 1988, 31). It was the qualitative interview, where the interviewer could listen empathically to each individual story that enabled the researcher to understand the context and the meaning behind each individual woman's experience with violence (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 254, Saunders 1988, 91). In the early phase of their career Dobash and Dobash wrote that they decided to reject the use of survey methods which was based on

“superficial questionnaires”, “abstract categories” and “irrelevant issues” (1988, 56) The qualitative data revealed the same stories of domination and severe abuse perpetrated by male partner which led the feminist researchers to form the theoretical argument where men’s violence toward women was a direct consequence of a patriarchal society (Dobash and Dobash 1988, 57)

2.3 The Family Violence Perspective

The family violence researchers did not accept the feminists claim that domestic violence could be explained exclusively by patriarchy (Anderson 1997, 655). According to the family violence researchers domestic violence was not a result of gendered domination, but of situational conflict between partners (Johnson 2008, 18). Their preferred terminology is “domestic violence” or “spouse abuse”, in order to de-gender both the victim and the perpetrator (Kurz 1989, 490). Among the researchers belonging to this perspective Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz are the most central. Gelles argue that when different kinds of abuse are treated and explored separately the fundamental causes and consequences of abuse are difficult to grasp (Gelles 1997, 2). Steinmetz probably stirred the greatest controversy in the history of the research field when he argued that women perpetrated as much, if not more, violence than men (Steinmetz 1980). Violence between intimates is not at all un-common, they wrote, instead it is a culturally accepted solution to conflict (Kurz 1989:491; Straus, 1979:85). When explaining violence between intimates the family violence perspective pointed to the family as a social organization and its position in society (Straus and Hotelling 1980, 11). Violence in the family follows socioeconomic patterns, and are unevenly distributed with higher frequency among people in the lower segments of society (Markowitz 2001, 205). Men and women with lower education, less income, and unstable employment status had significant higher chances of experiencing partner violence, and are perceived as strong predictors for violence (Jasinski, Williams, and Finkelhor 1998, 27). Straus (1990) argued that it was the stress caused by low income, instable employment status, and low education which offered a plausible explanation for how socioeconomic position moderated the risk of domestic violence.

The family violence researchers typically relied on large scale surveys, and not victimized populations like the feminist researchers, in their study of domestic violence (Johnson 1995, Dutton 2006, 46). The *Conflict Tactic Scales* (CTS), which is a widely used method for

measuring violence, was developed by Straus (Straus 1979). The CTS consists of a list of actions members of the family might take when dealing with a conflict, such as arguing, kicking, biting, etc. He argued that unless the respondent is specifically asked about what kind of conflict that had taken place much valuable information would be lost (Straus 1979, 77).

Furthermore, feminist scholars argue that one should avoid using an “unqualified notion of patriarchy” (Kandiyoti 1988, 285), which arguably could characterize the feminist perspective. The feminist researchers in the west received ample critique for their single-variable analysis of men’s violence. As a result of this critique more sophisticated mechanisms for how gendered structures are associated with violence against women have been developed. When applying feminist perspectives it is useful to distinguish between that familiar patriarchy and structural patriarchy in the analyses of men’s violence against women (Hunnicut 2009, 554, Smith 1990, 266). DeKeseredy writes that distinguishing between these two aspects is common and that it goes back to early theorization of patriarchy where Dobash and Dobash defined patriarchy as consisting of structure and ideology (DeKeseredy 2011, 299). When a unified notion of patriarchy is applied the complexity of social reality is at risk of being obscured (Hunnicut 2009, 559). However, when the variations of patriarchal structures and ideologies are allowed to come into view, the concept may add valuable information about how gender, power, and violence against women are connected in various ways, to various degrees, and in various places (Hunnicut 2009). Anderson argues that trying to understand gender with an individualistic approach is futile, because one have to look at how gender and patriarchy is related to the individual, interactions between individuals and social structures (Anderson 2005, 856).

2.4 Critique and Moving Beyond

At times the temperature between the two research traditions has been quite heated (Johnson 1995, 285). The over-arching critique of the feminist researchers was that they were employing single-variable analysis focusing exclusively on patriarchy, and thus overseeing all other variables such as income, education, unemployment, age, and how these variables may affect the perpetration of violence (Bograd 2005, Garcíá-Moreno 2002, Heise 1998, McHugh, Livingston, and Ford 2005, Straus 2005). According to Straus the feminist approach has added valuable insight when trying to understand abuse of women in light of gendered structures, but that it does not excuse them for denying all other explanatory factors (Straus

2005, 71). Dutton among others argues that this blindness to other possible explanation was caused by an ideological stance, which completely undermined the research in this tradition (Dutton 2005, 6).

The feminist researchers in their turn accused the family violence researchers at a general level to failing to understand how gendered violence is different from other forms of violence in the family (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 8-10). Wife beating differed theoretically from other forms of violence, and had to be understood within a larger context of dominance (Lawson 2012, 580). Treating men's violence as something related to for example abuse of children covered up the historic aspect of men's abuse and dominance of women (Dobash and Dobash 1980). In addition the feminist argued that comparing the massive abuse of women by men, to the minor acts in self-defense by women, was not only wrong, but doing injustice to all battered women (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 19). To underline this point they referred to the overwhelming percentage of violence reported in the criminal records of men's violence toward women, and not the other way around (Kurz 1989, 494).

Of the methodological differences the family violence researchers' use of the *Conflict Tactic Scale* is of paramount importance. To the feminists the problems with the CTS are many-fold (Dobash and Dobash 1988, DeKeseredy 1998, Lundgren, Dobash, and Dobash 1998, McHugh and Frieze 2006, Yllö 1988, Anderson 2005). First of all it works from an ideological premise that violence is family-based, and not gendered. Second, it is preoccupied with counting the number of abuse, instead of asking about the context of the abuse, and therefore missing the gendered aspect. Third, many types of abuse is not included in the list of the CTS. Abuse that is not included will most likely be left out by the respondents. Fourth, as the violent actions are ranked an assumption is made that some abuse (like psychological abuse) is less serious than items higher up on the list. And fifth, as the CTS assumes that violence and verbal abuse is about settling conflict, the large numbers of abuse which are related to control are left out.

The positions of the two perspectives seemed at times quite antithetical. In response to the stand still Michael P. Johnson suggested that the differences between the feminist perspective and the family violence perspective originated from the fact that they study two distinctly different phenomena.

2.5 Education, Employment and Income – Economic or Symbolic Resources?

One of the clearest differences between the family violence perspective and the feminist perspective is their view on the role of socioeconomic variables in influencing violence. A common misconception is that the feminists are against including socioeconomic variables in the analysis whereas the family researchers are for including it. In addressing this misunderstanding, Catherine Kaukinen (2004) argues that the main difference between the family violence researchers and the feminist researchers is not about *whether* to include socioeconomic variables when explaining domestic violence, but rather *how* to treat these variables. She writes that where the family violence tradition treats education, income, and employment as socioeconomic resources, the feminists treat them as symbolic resources.

MacMillan and Gardner use employment as an example of how feminist researchers and family violence researchers propose different mechanisms for how employment and violence are associated. They write that for the family violence researchers employment is but one indicator of access to economic resources (Macmillan and Gartner 1999, 947). For the family violence researchers unemployment leads to stress in the family because of fewer economic resources, or female employment leads to economic empowerment for women. However, what MacMillan and Gartner suggest is that the symbolic aspect of employment, rather than the economic aspect is most important. (Macmillan and Gartner 1999). According to them what matters is men and women's relative employment status. In those cases where the wife is employed and the husband is unemployed violence increases, because the status of the man is threatened. Atkinson et al. (2005) agree that employment needs to be understood as more than objective resources. To them the family violence researchers lack a fundamental understanding of how gender ideologies moderate the mechanism of female employment, and argue that conservative men with breadwinning wives are most prevalent to beat because then the women are a threat these men's gender ideology. However, if the men did not pertain to a conservative gender ideology women's employment would not have been a threat. Anderson (1997) writes that these gendered resource theories supplemented resource theories with much needed insights about gender and power in the family, which is a typical feminist critique of the family violence researchers. To conclude we see that the argument between the family violence researchers and the feminist researchers has to do with *how* to understand socioeconomic variables, and not *if* socio-economy should be included in the analysis. Or, as Lee

Ann Hoff (1988, 271) writes the feminist perspective “goes beyond general sociocultural explanations to explicate the patriarchal nature of the social and cultural context of violence”.

2.6 Intimate Terrorism Versus Situational Partner Violence

According to Michael B. Johnson much of the disagreements between the feminist researchers and the family violence researchers can be explained by the fact that they study two different phenomena (Johnson 1995, 285). And the different theoretical conclusions they arrived at stemmed from the fact that they used different methodologies and sampled different populations (Johnson 1995, 288). The debate of whose perspectives is right is futile he argues. What is instead needed is a better theoretical understanding of different types of violence between intimates. Johnson proposes that violence between spouses should either be understood as *Patriarchal Terrorism* or *Common Couple Violence* (later: *intimate terrorism* and *situational couple violence*). These two phenomena are quite distinct and can in a very limited way be studied using the same methodology and theoretical approach.

The feminist researchers have presented theoretical explanations for the *intimate terrorist* for decades. This type of violence is perpetrated by men who beat women regularly, and in a most severe way, in order to control them (Johnson 1995, 285). The *situational couple violence* is what the family violence researchers have tried to understand. This violence is not a product of gendered structures, but more a result of the stress caused by making ends meet. And this type of violence does not usually cause serious injury. (Johnson and Leone 2005, 326). What methodology the researcher employs to a large degree determines which type of violence that is possible to study. Intimate terrorism cannot be properly research when using national, representative surveys. This is because the questionnaires used in surveys are often developed in such a way that violence as a mean to dominate the other part will not be revealed, as discussed by the critics of the CTS. There are also reasons to expect that the majority of the perpetrators of the extreme kind of gendered violence will refuse to participate in this type of survey (Johnson 1995, 289). However, Johnsons argues that by distinguishing between moderate violence and severe violence and check how they are associated with controlling behavior, the intimate terrorist is also found in large scale surveys (Johnson and Leone 2005). What *is* highly unlikely is to identify the situational couple violence in shelters as only the most severe cases of violence are found in there.

Summing up Johnson's argument both the feminist researchers *and* the family violence researchers are right and wrong at the same time. Both approaches have added valuable insights to understand the complexities of domestic violence. At the same time both approaches are wrong when they claim that their approach is able to exhaustively explain all forms of violence between intimates.

2.7 Summing up

The sociological research on domestic violence consists of two main perspectives; the family violence perspective and the feminist perspective. According to the family violence perspective violence is equally distributed between men and women, and several socio-economic factors as unemployment, low educational attainment, and low income might increase the family members' stress level, which might result in violence. The feminist researchers disagreed with this de-gendered understanding of domestic violence. According to them it is men's violence against women which is of importance, which is explained by gender stratification and patriarchal structures in society. Johnson, in an attempt to breach the disagreement between the two perspectives proposed that the feminists studied what he called intimate terrorists, whereas the family violence researchers studies common couple violence. The different conclusions of the feminist and family violence perspective were caused by the different methods applied, and groups sampled. Kaukinen argued that what separates the two perspectives is how they understand socio-economic variables in relation to domestic violence. Both perspectives include variables like education, employment, and income, in order to explain the difference in prevalence of domestic violence in society; however, the feminists highlight the *symbolic* aspects of these variables, rather than their material consequences.

Even though researchers belonging to the different perspectives at times have been fierce in their critique of the other perspective, the differences are not unsurmountable. Both Johnson's typologies and Kaukinen's understanding of the role of socio-economics have made important contributions to the theoretical field of domestic violence. Research on domestic violence needs to take into consideration the vast theoretical literature before offering further conclusions on causes of domestic violence. Even though the feminist perspective has received much criticism, the theoretical development on how gendered structures are associated with violence, makes it a theoretical perspective still widely applied.

Before reviewing the literature on research on domestic violence in Jordan some contextual characteristics about the Middle East and North Africa in general and Jordan and the Palestinians in particular will be presented. The development of theoretical perspectives in this chapter is mainly based on research conducted in a western context, whereas the focus of this thesis is violence against Palestinian women in Jordan - a non-western context. There might be contextual factors with the MENA and Jordan that renders the theoretical discussion from this chapter less relevant. In order to consider this properly, the next chapter will highlight the research on the patriarchal aspects of the MENA societies, in addition to some more general historical and demographic information about Jordan and the Palestinians in Jordan.

3 The Middle East and North Africa – the Violent Patriarchy?

In the previous chapter I presented the existing theoretical debate on violence against women. The feminist perspective which despite its criticism is still widely applied is often regarded as the most relevant theoretical perspective in a Middle Eastern and North African context. This chapter looks specifically at the patriarchal structures of the Middle East and North Africa and how these relate to violence. After discussing patriarchy in the MENA in general, I turn to Jordan to review whether it can be said to be a typical case of a patriarchal society. The review of the Jordanian context also provides a general background to the Palestinian population in Jordan, who are the population in the surveys I will analyze.

There are three reasons why the discussion on MENA's patriarchal character is relevant in this thesis. First, as discussed in the previous chapter the feminist perspective view domestic violence as a result of men's domination of women (i.e. patriarchy), and that most of the research that this theoretical assumption is derived from is conducted in a western setting. In order to investigate whether patriarchy can explain men's violence against women in the Middle Eastern contextual information is needed. Contextual knowledge is of utmost importance when trying to explain social phenomena, as no social phenomena happens outside of its context. A thorough understanding of the context of a social phenomenon will reduce the chances for making misinterpretations. Geertz infamous example of how many possible interpretations there are of something as banal as a blink on an eye proves this point (Geertz 1973, 6). Second, Donald G. Dutton, a well-known researcher on violence from a psychological perspective writes that the feminist claim that patriarchy can explain the prevalence of domestic violence is faulty. However, he adds that the patriarchal perspective might be more useful in a very patriarchal setting (Dutton 2006). It is therefore useful to investigate whether the MENA and Jordan is such a patriarchal setting. Third, what the researchers actually mean when characterizing the MENA as patriarchal is important as it has both informed the research question, and will provide the discussion of the research findings with theoretical input.

3.1 Research on Patriarchy in the MENA

There is a strong body of research on the patriarchal aspects of the societies in the MENA. Joseph (1996, 18) writes that the in the MENA patriarchy is a “social, economic, political, ideological, and psychological aspect of social and personal life”. Even though the MENA is a vast areas with differences in socio-economic development, most of the societies retain “rigid gender stratification systems”, both by laws and tradition that uphold the subordination of women (Kulczycki and Windle 2011, 1443). Halim Barakat writes that a patriarchal family structure, where the father is responsible for providing for the family and is the one with authority, characterizes the family in the MENA (Barakat 1993, 101). Patriarchal relations do not only exist in the family, but characterize the Arab economic, religious and political institutions. Cheryl A. Rubenberg also agrees that patriarchy is “highly appropriate” for understanding women’s position in society at the West Bank life (Rubenberg 2001, 12). The family therefore is rather like a miniature of the society (Barakat 1993, 118). Just as the father is the corner stone of the smaller, nuclear families, the family is the corner stone of society (Gabbay 2014, 68).

Valentine Moghadam who places the MENA in the geographical “belt” of classical patriarchy, explains that here the senior man dominates everyone else in the family, including younger men (Moghadam 2004, 141-143). As the provider he stands alone on top of the pyramid of authority, and his authority is based on division of labor between the man and the woman. Men and women’s roles are not perceived as equal, but rather as complimentary. It is highly problematic for a man in a patriarchal society not to be able to provide materially for his family (Treacher 2003, 62, 68). Kandiyoti adds that in a classical patriarchy girls are married of at a very young age, to become a member of the household of the husband’s father (Kandiyoti 1988, 278). This general controlling behavior of men is seen as a very clear expression of patriarchal values (Dobash and Dobash 1980, 1988, Kandiyoti 1988, Yllö 1988, Yllö 2005). Familial-patriarchal attitudes are where the father’s main responsibility is to make all decisions. When it comes to marriage for example, electing a daughter’s future husband is important in the MENA. Marriage is both is a way of building relations between different families, and a way to control a girl’s sexuality - one of the central features of a patriarchal society. A general feature of the patriarchal MENA is relatively high birth rates. Because of the focus on male lineage and the daughters who enter into another family at marriage there is a preference for male sons. A son will also be a form for insurance for the parents, as opposed to a girl who leaves the family. Husbands are usually the ones insisting on having sons, as a

security for the future, and in practice this often means having at least two boys (Ahmed and Bould 2004, 1334).

While this form of classical patriarchy is currently being challenged because of socioeconomic changes, it is not disappearing, but rather taking on a different form; what Sharabi calls “neo-patriarchy” (Moghadam 2004, 140). The neo-patriarchy, Sharabi argues, is the transformation of patriarchy in encounter with modernity and capitalism (Sharabi 1988). In the neo-patriarchy normative views of women and the family are often reinforced through the state and its law, and in the MENA the family laws reinforce and uphold a patriarchal contract (Moghadam 2004, 145-148). Moghadam claims that although the MENA consists of quite different regimes, neo-patriarchy is a useful umbrella term for these (Moghadam 2004, 148). Even though the MENA is undergoing socio-economic changes the patriarchal gender contract still remains in place, she argues.

One examples of this persisting patriarchy, or neo-patriarchy, could perhaps be the Gender Inequality Index¹ from the UNDP Human Development Report. First of all the women’s labor force participation in the Arab states (2011) is 22.8 per cent compared to 52.7 per cent in the countries in the countries with the highest quintile of the human development index. The female population in the Arab states (2006-2010) with secondary education or more was 31.8 per cent compared to 84.7 per cent in the countries with the highest quintile of the human development index. 13 per cent of the seats in national parliaments (2012) are women, compared to 25 per cent in the countries in the countries with the highest quintile of the human development index. On economic opportunities the MENA countries scores 44.8 per cent (2012) compared to 80.1 per cent in Western Europe. On legal and social status the MENA scores 50.2 per cent compared to 89.2 per cent in Western Europe. How these statistics are measured can be problematized, but that is not the aim of this thesis. The point it serves is to position the area on a relative scale compared to the western world, and as we can see the MENA scores quite low on indicators relating to gender equality. The argument that the MENA and the Muslim world is patriarchal is also supported by a large quantitative study on attitudes among Muslims, where they found a “remarkably strong tendency of Muslims to support patriarchal values” (Alexander and Welzel 2011, 271).

¹ Available from: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/gii>

Jewkes et al. (2002, 1615) argue that the normative aspect of violence is often connected to the lack of sanctions against men who use violence, and that this violence is a sign of masculinity. It has been shown through research that positive attitudes regarding a husband beating his wife is predicted by a patriarchal society. Furthermore, feminist theory explains that a patriarchal society will maintain and pass on attitudes supportive of violence against women (Naved and Persson 2010, 835).

3.2 Patriarchy and Violence

Of scholarly writings on the patriarchy and its effect on actual violence (as opposed to attitudes on violence) between intimate partners, Muhammad Haj-Yahia has published quite extensively. On a general level he writes that the status of women is “extremely low” in the MENA (Haj-Yahja 1998b, 597). Haj-Yahia sees patriarchy as a well suited theoretical perspective for explaining men and women’s attitude toward violence, finding that in the West Bank, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan, that patriarchal attitudes can explain men and women’s attitudes toward violence against women (Haj-Yahia 2003) (Haj-Yahja 1997) (HAJ-YAHIA 1998) (Haj-Yahja 1998b) (Haj-Yahia 2002) (Haj-Yahia 2005). Other researchers agree that for example female Palestinians in the West Bank have very patriarchal attitudes, which again are used to legitimized violence against women (Dhaher et al. 2010, 530). Sugarman and Frankel (1996, 17) hypothesized that violent husbands would have more traditional gender attitudes, and Kurz (1989, 496) writes that marriage institutionalizes rigid gender roles and that the control which is given to the husband can result in violence. According to Garcíá-Moreno (2002, 128) men raised in patriarchal families where traditional gender roles are the norm, are more likely to perpetrate violence.

While some of the literature on the general patriarchal nature of the MENA societies was written quite a few years ago, patriarchal theory does not seem to have become outdated. In the recent book “Gender and Violence in Islamic Societies” many of the contributors argue that much of the violence in the MENA can be explained by patriarchal attitudes (Salhi 2013a). Gender-based violence, which this book calls the violence for example between a husband and wife, is explained as perpetuated through culture and the patriarchal order (Salhi 2013b, 34). Zahia Smail Salhi, the editor of the book writes that empowerment of women and dissolving of patriarchy will lead to less violence (Salhi 2013b, 42). According to David Ghanim (2013, 43) it is the patriarchy that “initiates, supports, and spreads violence in the

MENA societies”. These patriarchal structures generate violence which is difficult for both men and women to break free from. Where submissiveness of women and men’s supremacy is the rule, violence against women will spread and escalate (Ghanim 2013, 44). In fact, Ghanim (2013, 61) concludes that both men and women are left with little room for choice within the traditional and patriarchal gender structures, which implies that violence is a direct effect of patriarchy. Lastly, Fatma Zohra Mebtouche Nedjai (2013, 216) argues along the same line, that violence in an Algerian context is “a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women”, and can be attributed to patriarchy, culture, and Islamic fundamentalism.

3.3 Patriarchy and Jordan

This chapter has so far presented and explained how a number of researchers on the MENA underline the patriarchal nature of the societies in the MENA. Moghadam and others acknowledge that there are regional differences to how the patriarchal structures play out, and that these differences are important to highlight in order to avoid crude generalizations (Salhi 2013a). This thesis studies the specific case of Jordan. In the remainder of the chapter, I will therefore present some contextual information about Jordanian society, and especially the Palestinian population. Then I will conclude by reviewing whether Jordan can be said to be a typical case of MENA.-patriarchy as explained here.

Situated in the Levant in the Middle East, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has had a close relationship to the neighboring Palestine ever since its conception. The borders of Jordan were drawn when the land fell under the British in 1922 after the infamous Sykes-Picot agreement. It bordered then what the British Mandate for Palestine, and today is Israel and the Occupied West Bank. Today, over 80 per cent of Jordan is desert or semi-desert. Some rain falls in the Western part of the country and this is where most of the population lives. Major cities there are Amman, Zarqa and Irbid, all situated within governorates of the same name (Ryan 2007, 299-300). After the 1948 war with Israel, Jordan controlled what is today the Occupied West Bank and was almost economically self-sufficient. With the loss of this area which stood for 75 per cent of the country’s income, the economic situation set out on a more unsecure course (Ryan 2007). While Ryan (2007) classifies the country as relatively poor, the World Bank rates it as an “upper middle-income country” (World Bank 2004) along with countries such as Hungary, Romania, and Brazil.

1967 did not only mean a loss of land to Jordan, but a huge stream of refugees from the West Bank in addition to those who had come in 1948. According to Chatty and Hundt (2005, 11) the official number of registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan in 2005 was 1.6 million, accounting for 32 per cent of the population. However the categorization of Palestinian refugees in Jordan is a complex issue and this number does not account for all of them. The exact number of Jordanians who are of Palestinian origin is a politically sensitive issue (Chatty and Hundt 2005, 22) and no exact number exists, but they are estimated to make up more than half of the population (Ryan 2007, 300).

According to Ryan (2007, 300) there is in theory no difference between the Jordanians and Palestinians who hold a Jordanian citizenship, however most government positions are held by the former group. Furthermore, according to Minority Rights Group International (MRGI NY) Palestinians are discriminated against in the University system and in employment.

An estimated fourth of the Palestinians living in Jordan still live in UNWRA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) camps. The Palestinians who settled there became a new Jordanian underclass (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003, 222)- While this does not hold for all Palestinians, the ones living in camps generally live in poor conditions (Farah 2005, 93, Gandolfo 2012, 160). Of the total 13 Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, there are 10 so-called official camps run by UNWRA. Some of the major problems in these, as reported by the UN-agencies are: high unemployment, poverty, overcrowding, poor housing and health facilities, marriage between relatives, high divorce rates, marriage at an early age (UNRWA NY). In two very recent living condition surveys of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan conducted by Fafo Applied International Studies, on which this thesis is based, the overarching finding is despite the increasing standard in living conditions among the refugee population many challenges still exist. Especially the refugee population inside the camps experience worse living conditions compared to both the average Jordanian and the refugees outside the camps. The camp dwellers have significantly lower education attainment, lower income, worse housing conditions, and worse perceived health, to mention some of the indicators.

In terms of Jordan as a patriarchal society Haj-Yahia argues that it is characterized by a strong patriarchal system where women both publicly and privately are treated as inferior and subdued (Haj-Yahia 2005, 547). A child born to a Palestinian mother with Jordanian father is given citizenship automatically, however if the mother is Jordanian and the father is not, there

is no such rule. The link to the land goes through the father (Gandolfo 2012, 53). Gandolfo argues that even if “it is indisputable that patriarchy is a key component in the state system” religion is also extremely important in maintaining patriarchal structures as one has to be part of a “male-defined kin group” to be a part of any religious sect, and with reference to Islam a child is considered to belong to the father as opposed to the mother (Gandolfo 2012, 53-55). Amawi (Amawi 2000, 177) argues that a clear bias can be seen “in the provisions of laws that regulate the workplace and social benefits”. Women do not do well on the labor market where they have low-paid jobs and no help for when they have children in effect making them responsible for child rearing which further marginalizes them in the family and the society (Amawi 2000, 179).

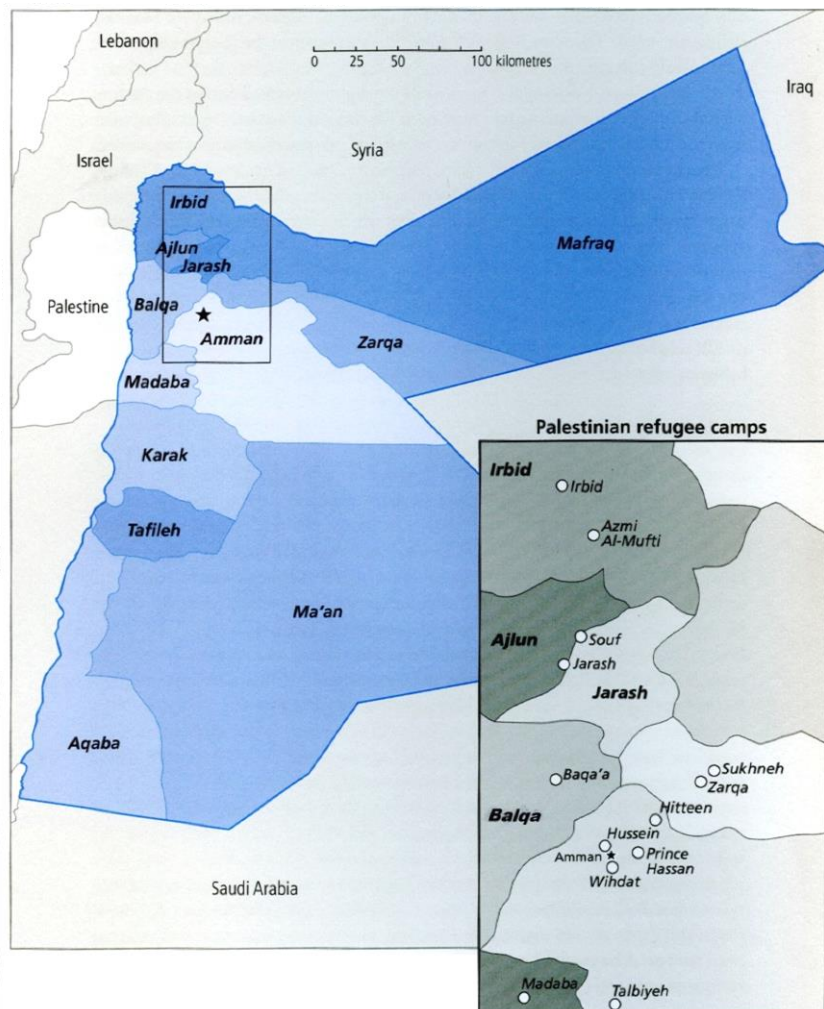
Regarding laws on domestic violence in Jordan, beating is in theory illegal and punishable, however the law also stipulates that a woman should obey her husband. In cases of divorce, the woman is entitled to alimony if she has been beaten which grants the right to separation, but if she leaves the marriage without such a legal reason she does not receive anything. Attempted reports on battering are often dismissed (unless very severe) because they are treated by the police as a “family matter”. In shari’a the husband has the right to beat his wife if she disobeys him continuously (Amawi 2000, 174-175). More strikingly patriarchal is perhaps the law regarding honor killings which can partially or completely exonerate a man who “discovers his wife or one of his female relatives committing adultery and kills, wounds or injures” the woman or indecently the other party (Jordanian Penal Code 1960, art. 340. no. 16 cited in Amawi 2000, 175) this does not work the other way around for women (Amawi 2000, 175).

Honor killings which are arguably the clearest expression of patriarchal structures (Eisner and Ghuneim 2013, 406) have the highest rate per capita in Jordan (Kulczycki and Windle 2011, 68). Several researchers argue that the foundation for honor killings is found in the legal codes where perpetrators are given both exemption and reduction of penalty (Kulczycki and Windle 2011, 80) (Elakkary et al. 2014, 80). Having such laws in the legal code is not an exception for Jordan, on the contrary such laws as found in the majority of Arab countries (Kulczycki and Windle 2011, 73). While honor killings are not the subject of this thesis which focuses on non-lethal violence their presence in Jordan serves to illustrate the country’s patriarchal nature.

3.4 Summing up

In this chapter we have explored how the patriarchal structures are embedded in the society in the Middle East and North Africa. The patriarchal structures are associated in research with a high prevalence of violence and more positive attitudes toward violence. As part of the MENA region, Jordan is no exception and as I will show in the next chapter, experiences both high rates of violence against women as well as very high acceptance of the use of violence against women.

Map 1. Map of Jordan, showing Palestinian Refugee Camps



(Adapted from Tiltne and Huafeng 2013).

4 Violence against Women in Jordan

The previous chapter presented some literature on the patriarchal structure in the MENA and Jordan and its connection to violence. This chapter looks specifically at the existing research on violence against women in Jordan, focusing both on attitudes toward violence and actual violence.

The main research question is to investigate whether patriarchal theory can explain the high prevalence of violence among the Palestinians in Jordan. The overarching aim in this chapter is to see how previous studies on violence and attitudes toward violence, in Jordan have explained how the patriarchal structures of the Jordanian society is associated with men's violence against women. It will also provide an overview of existing literature. In this chapter I will review the research conducted in Jordan on violence against women, and the research on attitudes toward violence against women in a total of 27 articles and three DHS' in Jordan.

The empirical research on domestic violence in Jordan is substantial compared to research in many other countries in the Middle East and North African. Still, the actual number of studies conducted is rather limited. Empirical studies on attitudes toward violence against women are included in this review. Even if these studies do not contribute towards explaining how patriarchy is associated with violence *per se*, attitudes toward violence is perceived as a proxy toward explaining actual use of violence (Jasinski, Williams, and Finkelhor 1998, 5). And it is assumed that studying the norms condoning violence may provide important information toward explaining why men beat women (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008, 212).

All in all I have reviewed three Demography and Health Surveys as well as 27 articles. Of these some are nationally representative; some are representative for certain sub-groups, and some offer only non-generalizable examples. The three DHS' (from years 2002, 2007, and 2012), Linos and Khawaja (2010) who base their study on the DHS of 2002, Al-Badayneh (2012), and Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013) have all sampled representatively on a national scale. However, all three DHS' and Linos and Khawaja only look at women, the DHS from 2002 and 2007 have not included Palestinians in camp, and Al-Matalka and Hussainat have sampled only youth. It is only Al-Badayneh (2012) who has sampled both men and women on a national scale. There are also three articles that present data based on randomly selected samples and is representative, but only for sub-groups of the population. The first sub-group is Palestinians inside refugee camps (Khawaja 2004, Khawaja and Barazi 2005), and the

second group is women in the Southern region of Jordan (Hamdan-Mansour et al. 2011). In addition to this there are 19 articles which are non-representative. The fact that they use non-randomized samples limits the use of the prevalence estimates offered (both of actual violence and attitudes toward violence) however as they all investigate causes of violence and attitudes they still offer insights into what researchers investigate, and have found, when trying to understand violence in Jordan.

The review of the literature on violence against women, and attitudes toward women has exhibited that the patriarchal perspective best explains why men beat women in Jordan. The patriarchal perspective which is an integral part of the feminist perspective argue that men's violence against women is a way of preserving stratified gender roles, with the dominant man on top and the submissive women underneath.

This chapter is divided in three parts, first I review the prevalence of violence and the variables that are significantly associated with this violence, and then I review the prevalence of *attitudes* toward violence and the variables that are significantly associated with positive attitudes. Finally, I offer a brief review of the qualitative data material on violence against women in Jordan. As the dependent variable in this thesis is *physical* violence, the review limits itself to the account of the estimates on physical violence and the various associations explored in relation to physical violence in the research field. This does not denote that for example psychological violence or emotional violence are not important, they are however beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.1 Physical violence – Prevalence

The DHS' from 2007 and 2012 and 16 articles, report on the prevalence of domestic violence. The only prevalence estimates of violence against women in Jordan that are nationally representative are the DHS from 2007 and 2012, and Al-Badayneh (2012). There is also representative data from two of the sub-groups. The first sub-group is Palestinians inside refugee camps (Khawaja and Barazi 2005), and the second group is women in the Southern region of Jordan (Hamdan-Mansour et al. 2011). The other prevalence estimates are based on small, non-representative convenience samples from health clinics.

The two DHS' studies report that 32.3 per cent (2007) and 33.9 per cent (2012) of the Jordanian women have experienced physical violence since the age of 15. The number of

women who have ever experienced violence by husband (current or former) is 20.6 per cent (2007) and 21.1 per cent (2012). These two estimates are as we see very consistent. The DHS (2012) also reports of prevalence experience with violence perpetrated by the husband (current or former) among Palestinian women inside refugee camps, a very relevant group for this thesis. The prevalence estimate is 30.3 per cent – over 10 per cent higher than outside the camps. The last nationally representative survey (Al-Badayneh 2012) reports of a prevalence rate of 98 per cent, however as this estimate includes women who have experienced and *witnessed* violence against women, the estimate is not comparable.

While the prevalence estimates in the two DHS' were consistent, those the two sub-groups vary greatly. 19.6 per cent of the women in the South report of physical violence without specifying the perpetrator (ref.), whereas 42.5 per cent of the Palestinian women report that they have been beaten by their current husband, and 48.9 per cent of the Palestinian men report that they have beaten their current wife (Khawaja and Barazi 2005).

The estimates of physical violence from the remaining non-representative data have large variations. Four studies based on samples of women in various health centers report that respectively 19.6 per cent, 31.2 per cent, 31 per cent, and 29 per cent of the women have experienced physical violence (Al-Nsour, Khawaja, and Al-Kayyali 2009, Clark et al. 2009, Clark et al. 2008, Clark et al. 2010). Two studies of violence during pregnancy report that 10.4 per cent and 15.4 per cent of women have experienced physical violence (Clark et al. 2009, Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani 2010). One study of pregnant Bedouin women in the North reports that 34.7 per cent have experienced physical violence (Okour and Badarneh 2011). And lastly, one study of Palestinian women attending an UNRWA health center reports that 43 per cent of the women had experienced violence (Al-Modallal 2012).

Although the estimates of prevalence from the non-representative studies do not serve for comparison, they are included here as part of the picture of research from Jordan, often referred to, and are also part of exploring the proposed etiology of violence against women in Jordan. Comparison is not relevant because sample variations can give significant variations for the result (McHugh and Frieze 2006, 129), various definitions of violence makes comparisons difficult (Boy and Kulczycki 2008, 57, Ellsberg 2005, 27), and the timeframe for when the violence was experienced obviously effect the estimates (Jewkes, Levin, and Penn-Kekana 2002).

4.1.1 Physical Violence – Characteristics of Perpetrator and Victim

Several characteristics of the perpetrator and victim are explored in the literature from Jordan. The DHS (2012) found that divorced women experience about twice as much violence as married women. Less empowered women are more abused than empowered women, women with lower education are more abused than women with higher education, urban women are more beaten than rural women (however this was not the case in the 2007 DHS), women from poor households are subjected to more violence, unemployed women are more likely to have experienced violence, and lastly women from refugee camps are more likely to have been beaten than other women (no data on refugee camps in the 2007 survey). All of these findings are however resulting from cross tabulations, without control variables. Therefore, they may be spurious. The exceptions are one article based on the 2007 DHS, which shows that women who participate in financial decision-makings have lower odds for experiencing violence (Akilova and Marti 2014), and that women with low education have higher risk for experiencing violence (Al-Badayneh 2012). No statistical associations were explored in the sub-group of Palestinians in camp as it was only a short report, however in the study of women in the South, the women without any education had a higher risk of abuse (Hamdan-Mansour et al. 2011, 270).

Among the non-representative studies several significant associations were found. Clark, Hill et al. (2009) and Al-Nsour, Khawaja, and Al-Kayyali et al. (2009) found that urban women are more often beaten than rural women. Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani found that pregnant women who were unhappy with their income were beaten more (2010, 442). Clark, Hill et al. (2009) found that exposure to violence in the childhood heightened the risk for experiencing violence. Oweis Gharaibeh, and Alhourani (2010) found that employed men more often perpetrate violence than unemployed men. Clark et al. (2010) found that living together with the extended family of the husband was associated with a higher risk of violence, however only among those who reported negative interference by the extended family. Clark, Hill et al. (2009) and Okour and Badarneh (2011) found that both attitudes which were supportive of a women's duty to obey her husband, and a husband's attitudes toward favoring a son were significantly associated with higher level of violence. Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani (2010, 441) found that women with an unplanned pregnancy, as well as women who perceived that their husband had violent attributes, experience more violence. Finally, Clark, Hill et al. (2009) found that the husband's use of alcohol increased

the chances for perpetrating domestic violence. A similar finding was reported in the representative study of Al-Badayneh (2012).

The results from these studies are not very consistent when it comes to explaining how different variables (patriarchal, socioeconomic, and other) affect the risk of experiencing violence and the risk of perpetrating violence, for women and men respectively. Many of the explored variables produce results which at times are statistically significant, but other times are not. This lack of consistent results has led the majority of the researchers to conclude that much of the violence against women can be explained by a patriarchal society. For example, Oweis et al. (2010, 443) claim the violence has “socio-cultural roots,” Khawaja and Barazi (2005, 840) write that patriarchal gender relation may explain why so many men perpetrate violence, and Al-Badayneh expresses a firm belief that patriarchy is the root cause for men’s violence against women in Jordan when he writes that “violence against women is prevailing among all men social status [sic.], regardless of their education or socio-economic levels” (Al-Badayneh 2012, 375). These explanations differ from a family violence perspective where violence is expected to follow a clear socioeconomic pattern. The evidence based on these studies so far underlines that patriarchal theory has strong explanatory power in the Jordanian context. This is in keeping with Dutton’s assumption that while the feminists’ claim that patriarchy explains violence is faulty in a Western setting, it might hold true in a very patriarchal setting.

Even though most of the articles prefer patriarchal theory when explaining men’s violence in a Jordanian context there are also studies that resonate more with a family violence perspective where gender is but one explanatory variable. For example Clark et al. (2010) write that in order to understand violence against women it is necessary to look beyond the husband as the perpetrator of violence. Clark, Hill et al. (2009) and Hamdan-Mansour et al. (2011) find that women’s education is the most important protective force against family violence. Akilova and Marti (2013) on the other hand find that financial empowerment of women is the most important protective force against violence. While most of the findings in these studies are relatively similar to the above-mentioned findings they refrain from positioning their studies in relation to a larger theoretical body, like patriarchal theory.

4.2 Attitudes Toward Violence – Prevalence

The three DHS' and most of the articles find a strong tendency among both men and women to justify violence against women in Jordan. The nationally representative prevalence estimates of attitudes toward violence against women in Jordan are the DHS' from 2002, 2007 and 2012, Linos and Khawaja (2010) which is based on the DHS 2002, Al-Badayneh (2012), and Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013). The highest percentage of acceptance of violence against women is found in the DHS from 2007, where 90 per cent of the women agree that there are justifiable reasons for a man to beat his wife. In the DHS from 2002 the number was 87.5 per cent and in 2012 it had gone down to 70 per cent. Al-Badayneh (2012) reports of similar numbers where 72 per cent of the women accept that the husband use force against any member of the family.

In addition there is representative data on Palestinians inside refugee camps which shows that 60.1 per cent of the men and 61.8 per cent of the women considers wife beating to sometimes be acceptable (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008). The other prevalence estimates are based on small, non-representative convenience samples.

The support for violence against women in the non-representative studies is relatively consistent and high. Haj-Yahia (2002, 268) reports that 68.5 per cent of Jordanian women support wife beating if “she doesn’t respect her husband’s parents or siblings”. The number is slightly higher for Jordanian men where 70.2 per cent support wife beating for the same reason (Haj-Yahia 2005). Clark (2009) found that 73 per cent of a sample of pregnant women could justify violence against women, whereas the lowest estimate is reported by Al-Nsour, Khawadja, and Al-Kayyali (2009) where “only” one-third of the women in health clinics accepted wife beating.

4.2.1 Attitude Towards Violence – Characteristics of Perpetrator and Victim

Much of the research on domestic violence in Jordan centers on the normative aspect of violence. Especially Haj-Yahja has been leading in arguing that attitudes can explain why violence against women is so prevalent in the MENA (Haj-Yahja 1997, 1998a, b, Haj-Yahia 2000, Haj-Yahia 2002, Haj-Yahia 2005). Safadi et al. (2013, 782) underline how violence is understood as a disciplining force. Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013, 199) write that violence is used to educate women, and a sign of masculinity. Other researchers argue that the

patriarchal aspects of the culture maintain the level of violence (Okour and Badarneh 2011, 1857) (Morse et al. 2012, 24) (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008, 215) (Al-Badayneh 2012, 375-6).

Several characteristics of men and women supportive towards violence against women are explored in the literature from Jordan. The DHS' found that the women who were the most positive toward violence were young, living in rural areas, unemployed, had little education, and had little decision power in the marriage. The patterns were approximately the same in both the 2007 and 2012 DHS, except that in 2012 rural women were not more positive toward wife beating. In 2012 a wealth index was added which revealed that positive attitudes toward wife beating was more prevalent among the poorer groups. None of these characteristics are however controlled for anything and the results may be spurious (Skog 2004: 44, 107). Among the controlled results, Linos and Khawaja (2010) found, based on the DHS from 2002 that there is a statistical association between women's low decision-making power, low educational attainment, unemployment, and increased support of violence.

The data on randomly selected men in refugee camps, revealed that men who were unsupportive of women's autonomy, who were unemployed, had low income, and who had perpetrated violence against their wife previously were significantly more likely to support wife beating. The only significant variable among the female camp dwellers however, was their history of being beaten (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008). These findings are highly relevant in comparison with the results from the analysis in this chapter, and will be discussed later.

From the non-representative studies Khawaja (2004) found that younger men and women in Palestinian refugee camps were more positive toward violence than older camp dwellers. Whereas Haj-Yahia (2002, 2005) found that both older women and older men were more positive toward violence than younger people. In the same studies he found that low education, unemployment, chauvinist attitudes toward women, and familiar patriarchal beliefs were significantly associated with positive attitudes toward violence among both men and women. Lastly, Haj-Yahia (2005) found that living in refugee camps and rural areas was significantly associated with positive attitudes toward violence among men.

The importance of patriarchal theory for understanding Jordanian men and women's attitudes regarding violence against women is underlined in a majority of the articles. The authors

either explicitly state that they based their analysis on this theoretical perspective (Haj-Yahia 2002, Btoush and Haj-Yahia 2008, Haj-Yahia 2005), or they refer to patriarchal theory more implicitly like Khawaja et al. (Khawaja, Linos, and El-Roueiheb 2008, 212, Al-Nsour, Khawaja, and Al-Kayyali 2009, Khawaja and Barazi 2005, Linos, Khawaja, and Al-Nsour 2010).

4.3 Qualitative Studies

Before concluding this chapter I will briefly review the qualitative studies on violence against women in Jordan, to further motivate the hypotheses which follow in next chapter. The qualitative articles tell a slightly different, but related, story of the etiology of violence against women. The qualitative interview to a much greater extent allows the researchers to account for the interviewee's "detailed accounts of the pain and fear that filled their lives", as Dobash and Dobash wrote (1980, 1). This review will not go into details of the Jordanian women's accounts of the abuse they have suffered, but rather focus on the proposed causes. Morse et al. (2012, 22) write that the women they interviewed told stories of how unmet gender role expectations resulted in violence. Men that were unemployed took out the shame of not providing for his family in violent ways, and women with better education than their husbands were harassed and accused of damaging the husbands' pride. The women explained the violence as a consequence of social norms and religious beliefs (Morse et al. 2012, 24). The extended family was also involved in the abuse, particularly the mother-in-law and sister-in-law.

Safadi et al. (2013, 781) describe women who have witnessed their own mother being abused by their father, and later experiencing severe violence themselves. The women were discriminated against when they were young, and forced to marry early with men they did not choose. And similar to Morse et al. (2012) the women described strict gender roles and expectations from relatives of the husband. The violence that the women experienced was a story of escalating violence, and a community which know of the violence but did nothing to prevent it (Safadi et al. 2013, 783).. Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) wanted to investigate why Jordanian women stayed in abusive relationships, and what they found was that the women lacked the empowerment to break out, and were bound tightly to an abusive husband by cultural rules and traditions. This finding resonates with another study by Oweis, Gharaibeh et al. (2009) which is filled with stories of suffering caused by abuse, normalization and

toleration of abuse, and limited possibilities to break out due to strict social and traditional codes of behavior.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

The research on domestic violence in Jordan is in this sense consistent with the well-established research tradition on the more general patriarchal structures of the Arab and Islamic societies, as discussed in chapter three. Jordan experiences extremely high rates of violence against women, and this violence is associated with positive attitudes toward violence and negative attitudes toward women's autonomy.

The feminist perspective which underlines that men's violence against women must be understood in light of patriarchal theory resonates well with the overall evidence from the research filed in Jordan as 19 out of the 25 articles (not counting the three DHS) argue that patriarchy contributes toward explaining the high prevalence of violence in Jordan. Socioeconomic variables contribute toward explaining some of the variation within the population however the socioeconomic variables cannot be correctly interpreted without taking into consideration the patriarchal structures of the Jordanian society.

5 Hypotheses: Investigating Patriarchy

Having explored the different theoretical perspectives on violence against women in general, and specifically patriarchy in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as reviewing previous research from Jordan, we now turn to the hypotheses of this thesis.

The first research question (RQ1) asks if the feminist perspective with patriarchy as the core theoretical concept explain why Palestinian men in Jordan beat their wives. Based on the review of existing research, this seems like a valid hypothesis. The next step of the thesis is to formulate hypotheses from a feminist perspective in order to test if patriarchal theory contributes to our understanding of violence perpetrated by Palestinian men living both inside and outside refugee camps. The second research question (RQ2) asks if the analytical distinction between moderate and severe forms of violence provides further evidence for the explanatory force of patriarchal theory in Jordan. From the review of the literature on violence against women it is clear that this analytical distinction between moderate and severe violence has never been tested before in a Jordanian context. The following step is therefore to form a hypothesis on how this analytical distinction contributes to the understanding of the etiology of violence against women. All the hypotheses will be tested both inside and outside camp.

5.1 RQ1: The Explanatory Power of Patriarchy

The following hypotheses have been formulated to test whether patriarchal theory can explain the prevalence of violence in the sample.

5.1.1 Attitudes Toward Women's Autonomy

Research on violence against women according to the feminist perspective argues that patriarchal attitudes and violence are associated. As explained in the chapter on patriarchy in the MENA, violent husbands have more traditional gender attitudes. Violence can result through the control the husband receives and the rigid gender roles institutionalized by marriage. Men raised in patriarchal families with traditional gender norms are more likely to perpetrate violence. As we saw from chapter four, these assumptions enjoy clear empirical support in the Jordanian context. Researchers agree that men's power, control, and dominance, as well as women's sub-ordination, can explain men's violence toward women (Al-Modallal 2012, 404) (Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani 2010, 443) (Gharaibeh and Oweis

2009) (Safadi et al. 2013, 783) (Al-Nsour, Khawaja, and Al-Kayyali 2009, 573) (Al-Badayneh 2012, 377) (Morse et al. 2012) (Haj-Yahia 2002, 209) (Linos, Khawaja, and Al-Nsour 2010). Women who transgress traditional gender roles, and challenge male authority and dominance are subjected to more violence. Based on these theoretical and empirical works two hypotheses are formulated, one for men and one for women:

H1a) *Men with conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy will perpetrate more violence than men with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy.*

H1b) *Women with conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy will be subjected to less violence than women with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy.*

5.1.2 Freedom of Movement

The next hypothesis investigates whether women whose movements are restricted are more at risk of experiencing violence. Men's controlling behaviors are regarded as one of the clearest expression of patriarchal attitudes. Descriptive statistics in the Jordanian Demography and Health Surveys (DHS) from 2007 and 2012 indicated that women with little decision-making power in the family experience more violence than women high decision-making power. Women whose movements are restricted are not expected to have much decision-making power in the family. Based on these factors it is hypothesized that:

H2) *Women whose movement is restricted will experience more violence than women whose movement is not restricted.*

5.1.3 Attitudes Toward a Girl's Choice of Spouse

The first two hypotheses (H1a and H1b) investigate men and women's general attitudes toward women's autonomy based on nine questions about what a woman can and cannot do. In order to further investigate men's level of patriarchal attitudes a hypothesis is formulated, investigating men's attitudes regarding who should choose a girl's husband. This hypothesis arguably isolates more specifically those men who hold familial-patriarchal attitudes, and reflects the patriarchal importance of marriage in the MENA. Based on these contextual factors it is hypothesized that:

H3) *Men who believe that the family should elect a girl's future husband will perpetrate more violence than men who believe that the girl should make the decision herself.*

5.1.4 Attitudes Towards Violence

Attitudes toward violence against women play an important role in research on domestic violence, as we saw from the research field in Jordan. Positive attitudes toward violence are seen as a signifier of a patriarchal society. Because of the understanding of violence in a patriarchal society as something normatively tolerable, violence persists. Based on these theoretical and empirical works it is hypothesized that:

H4) *Men with positive attitudes toward the use of violence against women will more often be perpetrators of violence than men who are negative toward the use of violence against women.*

5.1.5 Education

None of the studies from Jordan on men's violence against women have found a statistically significant association between men's education and violence. In contrast, men's education is consistently associated with the risk of perpetrating violence in international research on domestic violence (Hotaling and Sugarman 1986). Oweis, Gharaibeh, and Alhourani (2010, 443) argued that men's violence in Jordan does not follow a socioeconomic pattern, it is instead deeply imbedded in the sociocultural fabric of the Jordanian society; a fact that has been highlighted by other researchers, among others Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013, 199). Therefore, men's education is a variable which offers a unique chance to test whether violence penetrates all layers of the Jordanian society, which would be expected from the previous studies conducted there.

Regarding women's education the findings from the literature review on violence in Jordan showed that women with higher education have lower risk of experiencing violence. One mechanism proposed by Linos, Khawaja, and Al-Nsour (2010, 417) was that women with higher education are exposed to more "egalitarian ideas" and therefore challenge the violence. Research in other contexts has suggested that women's empowerment, larger social networks, and increased self-esteem may explain the protective force of education (Jewkes, Levin, and

Penn-Kekana 2002, 1612). Based on the theoretical assumptions and the empirical evidence the following two hypotheses are formulated:

H5a) *Men with higher education perpetrate the same amount of violence as men with lower education.*

H5b) *Women with higher education are subjected to less violence than women with lower education.*

5.1.6 Employment

Men's employment status is expected to be associated with violence based on several findings from the previous chapters, both theoretical and empirical. According to theory, the patriarchal man's primary responsibility is to provide for his family. Most unemployed men will probably struggle to provide for his family, and will as a consequence struggle to fulfill his obligations as the patriarchal provider of their family. Employment and salary is in this sense associated not only with the material aspect, but also with the symbolic aspect of being the provider. Unemployed men in a patriarchal culture therefore run the risk of feeling de-masculinized. In order to restore the hierarchical gender structure the men may use violence as a means to reestablish this dominance.

The opposite mechanism should therefore play out for women. In a patriarchal culture like the Jordanian society where female employment is low (even more so among Palestinian women), a women's employment might pose a threat to the patriarchal, hierarchal gender order. The family violence researchers on the other hand argue that employment offers women financial autonomy, and as a consequence protects her from violence. Furthermore, Vyas and Watts (2009, 22) argue that contextual factors determine whether financial empowerment is protective or a risk. Although the DHS' 2007 and 2012 do indeed indicate that employment might in fact be protective for women, these are only descriptive statistics and furthermore include non-Palestinian women who have a relatively much higher employment rate. Based therefore on the patriarchal characteristics of Jordan I hypothesize that:

H6a) *Unemployed men perpetrate more violence than men who are employed.*

H6b) *Women who are employed are subjected to more violence than unemployed women.*

5.2 RQ2: Moderate and Severe Violence

In addition to the patriarchal hypotheses above, one additional hypothesis is formulated to investigate Johnson's theoretical contribution to the research field on domestic violence in a North American context. Johnson's argument as discussed in chapter two was that when distinguishing analytically between moderate and severe violence, it became clear that men who perpetrated severe violence had different characteristics than men who perpetrated moderate violence. Despite this distinction's influence on the field of gender violence in the west, this distinction has not yet been applied to the study of violence against women in MENA, including Jordan. As most researchers in the field agree that there are important differences between different types of violence, it is reasonable to assume that such a distinction can be fruitful in understanding further the dynamics of gender violence in Jordan. How these differences play out however, is difficult to hypothesize as this distinction has not been tested in the region previously. Therefore, I hypothesize that

H7) *The etiology of moderate violence will differ from that of severe violence.*

6 Research Design and Method

In this chapter, I will present the design of the analysis used in order to investigate the hypotheses presented in the previous chapter. I present the dataset, the sampling procedures and the dependent and independent variables used in this study. I also give a brief description of logistic regression analysis, which is the most commonly used research design when dealing with a dichotomous dependent variable. Most importantly, I discuss the strengths and limitations of the sampling process of a sensitive social phenomenon like violence against women, in relation to generalizability and ethical considerations. It is important to underline that the intention of the two research questions in this thesis is to look for patterns, or associations in the data sets, and not to identify causal mechanisms. The aim in this thesis is to explore whether patriarchal attitudes are associated with violence, and whether the analytical distinction between moderate and severe violence contributes toward explaining this association.

6.1 The Datasets

The data analyzed in this thesis comes from two parallel living condition surveys conducted by Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies (AIS) in 2011 and 2012². Identical questionnaires were used inside and outside the camps in order to allow for direct comparison of the data (Tiltne and Huafeng 2013, 20). The instrument consists of a household questionnaire and a randomly selected individual (RSI) questionnaire.

The household questionnaire collected a wide variety of data. The target of the household questionnaire was to gather information of the overall condition of the household, in addition to basic information about all household members. There were questions on dwelling standards, residential area information, income, gender, age, civil status, use of health services, employment, etc.

The RSI was given to a randomly selected individual aged over 15 who lives one day a week or more with the household. Data on attitudes and perceptions like satisfaction with health

² More information about the surveys, including detailed information about the sampling procedures, the clusters, and calculation of the weights can be obtained in Tiltne and Huafeng 2013.

and education services, labor force participation, feeling of safety in neighborhood and attitudes toward women, etc. was collected. The questions regarding domestic violence is found in the RSI. The RSI-participant was chosen by the interviewer with the help of a so-called kish –table, designed to ensure that a random sample is drawn³. For more information about the camp sample see Tiltne and Huafeng (2013: 20-22)

The definition of a Palestinian refugee household used in this survey is a household with at least one person that identifies himself or herself as a Palestinian refugee or displaced, i.e. either a refugee from 1948, a displaced from 1967, a 1948 refugee that was subsequently displaced in 1967 or a Gaza refugee. In line with conventional definitions descendants of such persons in the male line are also considered refugees or displaced (Tiltne and Huafeng 2013).

6.2 Sampling

6.2.1 Outside the Camps

The intention of Fafo was first to capture a representative sample of all Palestinian refugee households outside the 13 Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. For economic reasons it was decided to concentrate on the governorates of Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid, where approximately 85 per cent of all the Palestinian refugees in live, instead of a complete representative sample. Random samples were drawn from each of the three governorates, Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid. The target of 1350 households in each governorate was missed by 199 households in Zarqa, 116 households in Irbid, and 7 households in Amman. Despite the missing households, Fafo concluded that the results are sufficient to produce reliable statistics on all Palestinian households in the three governorates.

The first stage of fieldwork, lasting from 22 December 2011 to 9 January 2012, consisted of so-called listing, where fieldworkers – experienced Department of Statistics - Jordan (DoS) staff and temporary employees listed all households in the randomly selected clusters. The second stage of fieldwork involved interviews with the households randomly selected from the lists prepared in the first stage and lasted from 15 January to 22 February 2012. Although most interviews were concluded a week earlier, a group of fieldworkers revisited households

³ For more information about the procedure see Kish (1965:398).

in which no one had been found to be home during earlier visits and also to interview some of the RSI who had also not been present at the time when the household questionnaire was completed.

6.2.2 Inside the Camps

The survey was conducted within Jordan's 13 Palestinian refugee camps (see map) in 2011-2012. The geographical definition of a camp that is used in the survey is narrow. Instead of including all natural extensions of the camps, the definition limits a camp to its "historic" borders (Tiltne and Huafeng 2013, 22). As a conclusion the data are sufficient to produce reliable statistics on all Palestinians inside the historic borders of the camps. The sampling procedure is identical to that used outside the camps.

What follows is a brief presentation of how the dependent and independent variables are operationalized in order to answer the two research questions in this thesis. It is important to note that because of the structure of the questions and the nature of the thesis, only currently married individuals are included in the sample.

6.2.3 Dependent Variables

There are ten different questions in the RSI part of the questionnaires that ask the respondents about violence. Men are asked if they have ever done any of the following to their wife, and women are asked if their husband has ever done any of the following to her:

1. Cursed or insulted her/you?
2. Thrown anything at her/you that could hurt her/you?
3. Pushed, grabbed, or showed her/you?
4. Slapped her/you?
5. Destroyed something that belonged to her/you on purpose?
6. Kicked or hit her/you with your/his fist?
7. Hit her/you with some object that hurt her/you
8. Chocked her/you?
9. Been violent toward her/you in any other way?
10. Yelled or shouted at her/you?

Three of these questions are understood to measure emotional violence and seven questions measure physical violence. In accordance with Johnson and Leone (2005), I have chosen to divide the seven questions regarding physical violence into moderate and severe violence.

Questions 2, 3, and 4 are categorized as moderate violence, question 6, 7, 8, and 9 are categorized as severe violence. Questions 1, 5, and 10 are categorized as emotional violence and therefore not included in the analysis. The operationalization of the moderate and severe violence is inspired by Johnson and Leone (2005) and follows McHugh and Freeze's (2006: 133) argument that it is important to make a qualitative distinction between different acts of violence.

6.2.4 Independent variables

The motivation for which independent variables to include in the analysis is based on the discussions from all previous chapters. In the following section, I will briefly present the independent variables that are included in the analysis.

Operationalizing patriarchy

Attitudes toward women's autonomy

The first variable constructed to measure patriarchy is an index of woman's autonomy. Eight different questions regarding what a women should be allowed to do have been used to form a scale of conservatism with regards to women's autonomy. All questions are regarded as equally important, and each answer category is given a different score. Support equals 0 point; indifference equals 0.1 point; and against equals 0.2 points. The points are summarized to construct an index of attitudes toward women's autonomy with a possible score of 0-1.6 points. This index is then again divided into a three point variable with the alternatives most liberal (0-0.5 point), moderate (0.6-1.1 points) and most conservative (1.3-1.6 points). The reliability of the index was tested returned a Cronbach's Alpha of .94 both inside and outside the camps, indicating sufficient internal consistency (Skog 2004:95-98).

Men and women were asked if a woman wanted to, should she be allowed to:

1. Work outside the house
2. Pursue higher education

3. Participate in voluntary social activities
4. Drive a car
5. Run a business
6. Vote in elections
7. Be a member of a municipal council
8. Be a minister or parliamentarian

Freedom of movement

The second variable constructed to measure patriarchy was only asked the female respondents. Female respondents were asked about their possibility to go to various places alone, accompanied, or not able to go at all. The places they were asked about were the neighbors, local market, relatives inside the camp/living area, relatives outside the camp/living area, or a local health clinic. All questions are regarded as equally important, and each answer category is given a different score. *Can go alone* equals 0 point; *can go accompanied* equals 0.1 point; and *cannot go* equals 0.2 points. The points are summarized to construct an index of restriction with a possible score of 0-1.0 points. The index was made dichotomous where the reference group is *most liberal* (0 point), and *most conservative* (0-1.0 points).

Attitudes toward a girl's choice of spouse

The third variable constructed to measure patriarchy was only asked the male respondents and is therefore only relevant for them. Male respondents were asked if the decision of deciding a girl's spouse should be made by *the girl alone*, *mainly the girl*, *mainly the family*, or *the family alone*. The variable is dichotomized by combining the two first answers *the girl alone* and *mainly the girl* into a new variable labeled *girl's decision*, the last two answers *mainly the family* and *the family alone* into a new variable labeled *family's decision*.

Attitudes toward violence

The fourth variable constructed to measure patriarchy is an index regarding men and women's attitudes toward violence against women, based on twelve different questions. All questions are regarded as equally important, and each answer category is given a different score. *Yes*

equals 0 point; *sometimes* equals 0.1 point; and *no* equals 0.2 points. The points are summarized to construct an index of attitudes toward violence with a possible score of 0-2.4 points. This index is then again divided into a three point variable with the alternatives *most negative* (0-0.8 point), *more positive* (0.9-1.6 points) and *most positive* (1.7-2.4 points). The reliability of the index was tested returned a Cronbach's Alpha of .93 inside the camps and .94 outside the camps, indicating sufficient internal consistency (Skog 2004: 95-98).

The questions that men and women were asked are: Do you think it is appropriate for a husband to hit or beat his wife if she:

1. "Talks back" or speaks in a hostile way to him
2. Deliberately disobeys what he asks of her
3. Behaves in a way he dislikes at home
4. Behaves in a way he dislikes in public
5. Curses him or his family
6. Says things that embarrass him in front of others
7. Talks with men in a manner that provokes him
8. Does not have meals prepared properly or on time
9. Does not do household chores (cleaning, laundry, etc.) properly
10. Goes out unaccompanied (without asking)
11. Does not respect his family
12. Does not care for the children in an "adequate" way (the way the husband thinks it should be done)

Education

This variable is based on highest education completed. Originally the educational level was specified as a nine-point scale variable, which was re-categorized and reduced to five, which gave the categories: Did not complete any schooling, elementary, preparatory/ basic, secondary and post-secondary education. For the analysis the variable is dichotomized, as the difference is assumed to be largest between those with or without education. The reference

group is those with preparatory/basic education or less coded as 0, and those with secondary education or more coded as 1.

Employment

Employment is measured through a dichotomous variable. The question consisted originally of four categories, employed, unemployed, looking for work, discouraged unemployment, and out of labor force, which I have recoded to a dichotomous variable. Employment is the control group.

Income

For the income variable, I have chosen to use an asset index instead of self-reported income. There are two reasons for this decision. First of all, measurement errors, or underreporting of income for various reasons, are known problems with income data (Øvansen 2006, 9). Second, income in the developing world has a tendency to fluctuate according to seasons (Sahn and Stifel 2003, 464). Measuring the more long-term income is a better assessment of people's actual financial situation (Tiltnes and Huafeng 2013: 234). An asset index can be constructed in numerous ways, the simplest being to sum up all the listed household items. However, as items are not uniform, having a stove is for most people qualitatively more important than having a motorbike. The solution to this problem is to assign weights to the various items (Sahn and Stifel 2003, 466). This is what has been done to the asset index used in my analysis. I have used the asset index constructed used in Tiltnes and Huafeng (2013). For a detailed description of how it was constructed, see Tiltnes and Huafeng (2013: 234-238).

1.2.5 Control variables

Age

Age is coded as a continuous variable. Curve linearity has been tested for but as none of the results were significant it was left out.

Governorate

Governorate is coded as a categorical variable. The camp sample covers six governorates, Amman, Zarqa, Irbid, Balga, Madaba and Jarrah. The outside-camp sample covers only Amman, Zarqa and Irbid governorates. Amman is the reference group in both samples.

Family size

The family size in the samples varies from 1-16 inside the camps, and from 1-18 outside the camps, with mean family size 5.1 (2.4 standard deviation) and 4.8 (2.2 standard deviation) respectively. For the analysis I have chosen to dichotomize the variable dividing the groups in two roughly equal sizes. The reference group both inside and outside the camps is family size 1-4 (which in effect is 2-4 since I only study currently married men and women) coded as 0 and family size 5-16 and 5-18 for inside camps and outside camps respectively, coded as 1.

6.3 The Filtering Process

The sample on which this thesis is based was reduced as a consequence of ensuring the required privacy for the respondent. Researching sensitive questions requires attention to the safety of the respondents. Domestic violence is to many people a sensitive subject and researchers must take steps as not to cause harm to the respondents. In worst case scenarios researchers may put the lives of the respondents at risk (Ellsberg 2005, 35-36). The imperative for research on sensitive issues is always to make sure that this risk is as low as it gets, and low enough to justify the research conducted (Lundgren, Dobash, and Dobash 1998, 30). This is why questions regarding domestic violence are in most cases only asked if necessary privacy can be obtained. In most surveys the interviewer are obligated to check if there are other people in the room that might disqualify the interviewee for the sensitive questions. Only respondents that were unaccompanied in the room (not counting children under the age of ten) were asked about their history with domestic violence, men as perpetrators, and women as victims. 40 per cent of the currently married couples outside camps and 25 per cent of the currently married couples inside camps were deemed eligible for the questions concerning domestic violence. The original sample in the Jordanian

Demography and Health Surveys from 2007 was reduced to 33 per cent after ensuring the needed privacy, whereas the DHS in 2012 was reduced to 65 per cent.

One explanation for why more people were excluded inside camps is that the camps are generally more crowded, with smaller houses (Tiltne and Huafeng 2013) . Securing privacy is thus more challenging.

In the following section, I describe how the characteristics of the respondents before and after the privacy questions, change and the consequences this might for the analysis. The aim is to clarify the difference on key variables in the analysis among those who answered the questions regarding domestic violence and those who did not. This will also be taken into account when discussing the generalizability of the study. In the following section I refer to the sample before the privacy measures as “sample A”, and the sample after the control checks “sample B”. Sample B excludes those who are not married, and those who were not alone in the room when these sensitive questions were asked. “Sample B is the sample on which the analysis in this thesis is based.

6.3.1 Variations in sample A and B: Outside and Inside Camps

Sample A and B differ on some key variables, where percentage of men and women is by far the biggest difference. Table 6.1 and 6.2 show the main differences between the two samples.

Table 6.1 Differences between Unfiltered and Filtered Sample, Outside Camp Data Set

	Women outside camp		Men outside camps	
	Sample A	Sample B	Sample A	Sample B
Attitudes towards womens autonomy				
Liberal	86.50	87.9	61.2	62.3
Moderate	9.20	9.0	19.5	20.9
Conservative	4.30	3.1	19.3	16.9
Restrictions on womens movement				
Free	61.7	NA	NA	NA
Restrictions	38.3	NA	NA	NA
Decision on girs' husband				
Girls decision	NA	NA	62.1	58.2
Familys decision	NA	NA	37.9	41.8
Attitudes to violence				
Most negative	NA	NA	8.7	8.1
More positive	NA	NA	83.9	83.9
Most positive	NA	NA	8.1	8.06
Family size				
Less than 5	42.8	40.3	44.3	42.9
More than 5	57.2	59.7	55.7	57.1
Education				
Low	58	56	59.4	53.5
High	42	48	40.6	46.5
Employment status				
Employed	6.9	6.5	79.8	81
Unemployed	93.1	93.5	20.2	19
Asset index				
Low third	32.8	29.8	33.1	27.5
Middle third	35.5	35.2	33.9	32.6
High thrid	31.8	35	33	40
Age				
10-19	2	2	NA	
20-29	28.2	32	10.4	12.5
30-39	33.4	37.7	38.7	36.6
40-49	20	16.6	25.0	23.4
50+	16.9	11.9	25.9	27.5
N=	1026	523	942	273

Table 6.2 Differences between unfiltered and filtered sample, inside camp data set

	Women inside camps		Men inside camps	
	Sample A	Sample B	Sample A	Sample B
Attitudes towards womens autonomy				
Liberal	84.3	83.2	52	52
Moderate	11.0	13.0	18.4	18.4
Conservative	4.7	3.8	29.6	29.6
Restrictions on womens movement				
Free	52	NA	NA	NA
Restrictions	18.4	NA	NA	NA
Decision on girs' husband				
Girls decision	NA	NA	55.3	63.7
Familys decision	NA	NA	44.7	36.3
Attitudes to violence				
Most negative	NA	NA	NA	4.7
More positive	NA	NA	NA	72.6
Most positive	NA	NA	NA	23.2
Family size				
Less than 5	39.9	38.4	38.4	42.3
More than 5	60.1	61.6	61.6	57.7
Education				
Low	67.4	67.6	75.1	70
High	32.6	32.4	24.9	25
Employment status				
Employed	5.5	4.7	80.2	79.5
Unemployed	94.5	95.5	19.8	20.5
Asset index				
Low third	31.5	42.7	30.8	33.3
Middle third	34.3	25.8	34.5	35.7
High thrird	34.2	31.5	35.1	31
Age				
10-19	3	3.3	0.1	
20-29	33.7	42.7	14.4	14.9
30-39	33	27	40.3	47.
40-49	17.1	15.7	26.1	22
50+	13.1	11.2	19.1	16.1
N=	1227	404	1103	168

Table 6.2 shows that the gender composition among camp dwellers in sample B is 70.6 per cent women and 29.4 per cent men, compared to 50.5 per cent women and 49.5 per cent men in sample A. Table 6.1 shows that outside of the camps, there are 65.7 per cent women and 34.3 per cent men in sample B, compared to 52.1 per cent women and 47.9 per cent men in

sample A. One explanation for why more men than women were excluded in the filtering process may be that men spend more time outside the home. This means that it is more likely for an interviewer to encounter a woman at home in a situation where she can be asked sensitive questions, than is the case for men, who are seldom home alone (Bates and Rassam 2001, 231). This is also supported by the complementarity of men and women's roles, as was discussed in chapter three (Treacher 2003). This explanation is supported by men and women's employment rate. 79.6 per cent of the currently married men outside the camps are employed compared to 6.9 per cent of the currently married women. When the men are out for work, privacy required for the questions about domestic violence is easier to obtain for the women who are at home, then for the men when they come home from work, because then the women will still be there. This could explain why the men are underrepresented in the section regarding domestic violence. In general the samples do not differ vastly within the camps, or outside the camps, however the difference between the camps have some interesting differences which will be discussed later.

6.4 Generalizability

The differences between the samples on key variables before and after the filtering process are not vast. A thorough review of the variations on all important variables has ensured that no groups are systematically excluded from the samples on which the analysis of the domestic violence is based, except for those who are not married, a group which this study is not representative for.

As long as there are no reasons to expect that variations are systematically associated with the phenomenon at hand, namely domestic violence, one can assume that the sample still qualifies as randomly selected, with the important consequence that the results might be generalized to the universe of the sample. The large sample reduction in this data set is not extraordinary in comparison with other important surveys on domestic violence, like the Jordanian DHS. As long as a systematic bias does not threaten the generalizability of the study, the most important aspect of the reduction is if the final sample is large enough to allow for significant variation. This criteria is secured in the data reduction performed here.

6.5 Logistic Regression Analysis and Significance

Testing

The method of analysis applied in this thesis is regression analysis. This is the preferred method when the dependent variable is dichotomous, which makes it a preferred method with regards to the subject in this thesis. When the dependent variable is dichotomous several of the assumptions of the linear regression are unfulfilled. A straight line between the dependent variable and the independent variables cannot be assumed (Skog 2004, 353).

A logit model is estimated using a maximum likelihood estimator (MLE). The logit can be expressed in the following equation:

$$\text{Logit}(\tilde{Y}) = \ln\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \dots + \beta_k X_k + \varepsilon$$

β_0 is the logit-value for those who have the value 0 for all variables in the model and β_1 is increase in logit for every unit increase in X_1 . ε is the error term or the variables that are not observed or not included in the model (Skog 2004, 354).

Taking the antilogarithm of the logit gives the odds ratio, which is how results are presented in this thesis. The reason for reporting in odds ratios rather than logits is because the interpretation is more reader-friendly. I report significance test statistics for all parameters in the various models. A statistically significant result implies that the finding not is not only valid for the drawn sample, but holds for the entire population, in this case married Palestinian refugees in the sampled areas, between 10-60 years of age. For logistic regression, it is common to report z-test statistics based on the wald test. The significance stars in the tables give 5 percent, 1 percent and 0.1 percent significance levels. The models also include standard errors.

6.6 Conclusion

The data in this thesis presents the largest material on domestic violence among the Palestinian refugee population in Jordan. It is the first data sets which present comparable

data of violence against women for the Palestinian refugee population in Jordan residing both inside and outside the camps.

In this chapter, I have explained the operationalization of all the variables used, explained the sampling process and the filtering of the data set. I have also presented a short description of logistic regression analysis which will be used for analysis in the next chapters.

7 Descriptive Statistics

In this brief chapter I present descriptive statistics for all the dependent and the independent variables.

7.1 Dependent Variable: Violence

Table 7.1 presents descriptive statistics for the dependent variables used in the thesis, namely moderate violence, severe violence and any type of violence (for operationalization see previous chapter). Three findings are worth mentioning. First, a much higher number of people commit moderate violence compared to severe violence. This is an indication that Johnson's separation of the two types of violence may be relevant in a Jordanian context. Second, the number of people committing severe violence is much higher inside camp than outside camp, almost 20 percent in camp for both men and women, compared to under 10 percent outside camp. Third, men and women report fairly similar numbers.

Table 7.1: Descriptive statistics, dependent variables

Prevalence of violence	Outside camp		Inside camp	
Any violence	Men	Women	Men	Women
No	51.7	55.0	42.3	44.0
Yes	48.3	45.0	57.7	56.0
N=	273	523	168	404
Moderate violence				
No	52.0	55.8	44.6	46.5
Yes	48.0	44.2	55.4	53.5
N=	273	523	168	404
Severe violence				
No	91.2	88.9	81.0	80.7
Yes	8.8	11.1	19.0	19.3
N=	273	523	168	404

Independent Variables

Table 7.2 report descriptive statistics for all the independent variables used in the analysis.

The respondent included in these variables are those that have responded on the dependent variable. The reason for this selection is that these are the respondents that will be included in the regression analysis in the coming chapters. For a detailed discussion on this filtering process, see the previous chapter. However, it is worth mentioning that the camp population scores significantly higher on most of the patriarchal variables, and significantly lower on education attainment.

Table 7.2: Descriptive statistics, independent variables

	Outside Camp		In Camp	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Attitudes towards women's autonomy				
Liberal	62.3	88.0	48.8	83.2
Moderate	20.9	9.0	22.6	13.0
Conservative	16.8	3.0	28.6	3.8
Restrictions on womens movement				
Free	NA	61.9	NA	43.6
Restrictions	NA	38.1	NA	56.4
Attitude towards daughters choice of spouse				
Girls decision	58.2	70.9	63.7	63.1
Familys decision	41.7	29.9	36.3	36.9
Attitudes to violence				
Most negative	8.1	7.6	4.2	5.3
More positive	83.9	83.7	72.6	79.9
Most positive	8.0	8.6	23.2	14.8
Family size				
Less than 5	44.3	40.3	42.3	38.4
More than 5	55.7	59.7	57.7	61.6
Education				
Low	53.5	56.0	75.0	67.6
High	46.5	44.0	25.0	32.4
Employment status				
Employed	81.0	6.5	83.3	4.5
Unemployed	19.0	93.5	16.7	95.5
Asset index				
Low third	27.5	29.8	33.3	32.7
Middle third	32.6	35.2	35.7	28.7
High thrid	39.9	35.0	31.0	38.6
Age				
10-19	0.0	1.9	0.0	3.2
20-29	12.5	31.9	14.9	34.4
30-39	36.6	37.7	47.0	35.9
40-49	23.4	16.6	22.0	17.8
50+	27.5	11.9	16.0	8.7
Governorate				
Amman	50.9	40.1	16.7	19.3
Zarqa	30.8	29.1	25.6	25.5
Irbid	18.3	20.8	14.9	16.6
Balga	NA	NA	25.6	21.0
Madaba	NA	NA	1.8	1.2
Jarrah	NA	NA	15.5	16.3
N=	273	523	168	404

8 Analysis

In this chapter I present the results of the analysis. While some of the hypotheses were confirmed partly or completely, the overall majority had to be rejected. Before I go through the results of the logistic analysis let me quickly repeat the theoretical background for the analysis. The sociological research field on domestic violence is dominated by the feminist researchers and the family violence researchers while the family violence researchers argue that a family's position in society, with regards to socioeconomic resources, is the main explanatory factor of violence. The feminist researchers on the other hand argue that men's use of violence is a result of patriarchal gendered structures in society.

The Middle East and North Africa is characterized as patriarchal and the Arab family is a miniature of society where the man rules on top. Men's patriarchal attitudes and the way they control and dominate women can to a large degree explain the prevalence of violence against women, as argued by the majority of the researchers on violence in Jordan.

There are two aims in this thesis: 1) to test if patriarchal attitudes can contribute towards explaining why Palestinian men, both inside and outside refugee camps, beat their wives. And 2) to apply Johnson's analytical distinctions between moderate and severe acts of violence in order to see if this distinction further explains why men beat women in Jordan.

Several hypotheses are formulated and several questions from the survey are used to operationalize these hypotheses, as presented in the two previous chapters. The structure of the analysis is as following. First, I present the overarching findings from the logistic regression. I have chosen to present the main findings in the beginning of the analysis chapter in order to prevent the reader from drowning in the description of all the statistically significant variables. The results of the analysis are extensive as I have results on three different dependent variables for men and women both inside and outside the camps. I will prioritize to report of the odds ratios of the statistically significant variables and include brief comments on the standard errors and confidence intervals where relevant. Second, I discuss whether the hypotheses are confirmed or have to be discarded and what the results could mean. In chapter nine I will return to the main findings and discuss what theoretical and methodological implications they have.

8.1 Key Findings from the Analysis

The key findings are those findings that present answers to the two research questions. I will start with question number two. Research question number two asks if the analytical distinction between moderate and severe forms of violence provides further evidence for the explanatory force of patriarchal theory in Jordan. The answer is that it does not provide the *expected* answer of a linear relation between degree of patriarchal attitudes and severity of violence. However, by distinguishing between different degrees of violent acts we see that the etiologies of moderate and severe violence in fact differ.

The most important research question is whether the feminist perspective and patriarchal theory can explain why Palestinian men beat their wives. The answer is that patriarchal theory does not provide answers to why Palestinian men beat their wives, however the research findings suggest that patriarchal theory might explain why Palestinian men use *moderate* violence.

8.2 Presentation of the Logistic Analysis

In this section, I present the logistic regression analysis for men and women inside and outside camp. I will report the statistically significant findings for all the variables that are relevant to the hypotheses put forward in chapter 5. Other control variables will not be commented on specifically in this section.

8.2.1 Men Outside Camps

Table 8.1 shows the results of logistic regression on three different dependent variables.(1)

Men who have committed any form of violence (2) Men who have committed moderate form of violence (3) Men who have committed severe form of violence

Table 8.1: Violence Against Women, Men Outside Camps, Logistic Regression

	Any violence		Moderate violence		Severe violence	
Women's autonomy						
most liberal	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	
moderate	1,49		1,48		0,913	
	(0,57)		(0,565)		(0,574)	
most conservative	1,503		1,381		0,257	
	(0,592)		(0,539)		(0,227)	
Attitude violence						
most negative	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	
more positive	0,207	**	0,21	**	0,18	*
	(0,116)		(0,117)		(0,125)	
most positive	0,197	*	0,163	*	1,457	
	(0,142)		(0,117)		(1,262)	
Attitude towards daughters spouse (1=family's decision)	1,059		1,043		0,864	*
	(0,309)		(0,303)		(0,461)	
Family size (1=5+)	1,986	*	1,893	*	1,59	
	-0,558		-0,529		(0,818)	
Education (1= high)	0,807		0,815		0,126	**
	(0,239)		(0,241)		(0,087)	
Asset index						
0	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	
1	0,701		0,729		1,032	
	(0,254)		(0,263)		(0,613)	
2	0,348	**	0,362	**	0,863	
	(0,133)		(0,137)		(0,582)	
Employment (1= unemployed)	0,921		0,948		0,963	
	(0,384)		(0,394)		(0,765)	
Age	0,994		0,994		1	
	(0,012)		(0,012)		(0,023)	
Governorate						
Amman	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	
Zarqa	0,296	***	0,313	***	0,395	
	(0,098)		(0,103)		(0,286)	
Irbid	1,204		1,248		3,318	*
	(0,459)		(0,473)		(1,989)	
Constant	8,001	**	7,773	**	0,524	
	(5,859)		(5,67)		(0,597)	
N	273		273		273	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

NA= Not available

Standard errors are given in brackets. ref. denotes reference category.

Source: Fafo AIS 2011/ 2012

Any Violence

- I. The odds ratio between men with more positive attitudes toward the use of violence and men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence is 0.207. This means that the odds for perpetrating any violence decreases with 79.3 per cent on average among men with more positive attitudes toward the use of violence compared to men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence.
- II. The odds ratio between men with most positive attitudes toward the use of violence and men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence is 0.197. This means that the odds for perpetrating any violence decreases with 80.3 per cent on average among men with most positive attitudes toward the use of violence compared to men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence.

Moderate Violence

- I. The odds ratio between men with more positive attitudes toward the use of violence and men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence is 0.21. This means that the odds for perpetrating moderate violence decreases with 79 per cent on average among men with more positive attitudes toward the use of violence compared to men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence
- II. The odds ratio between men with most positive attitudes toward the use of violence and men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence is 0.163. This means that the odds for perpetrating moderate violence decreases with 83.7 per cent on average among men with most positive attitudes toward the use of violence compared to men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence

Severe Violence

- I. The odds ratio between men with more positive attitudes toward the use of violence and men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence is 0.18. This means that the odds for perpetrating severe violence decreases with 82.0 per cent on average among men with more positive attitudes toward the use of violence compared to men with negative attitudes toward the use of violence
- II. The odds ratio between men with low education and men with high education is 0.126. This means that the odds for perpetrating severe violence decreases with 87.4 per cent

for on average among men in the high education group compared to men in the low education group.

- III. The odds ratio between men who believe that a women`s spouse is the girls choice and men that believe that a women`s spouse is the family`s choice is 0.864. This means that the odds for perpetrating severe violence decreases with 13.6 per cent on average among men who believe that a women`s spouse is the family`s choice.

8.2.2 Men Inside Camps

Table 8.2 shows the results of logistic regression on three different dependent variables.(1)

Men who have committed any form of violence (2) Men who have committed moderate form of violence (3) Men who have committed severe form of violence.

Table 8.2: Violence against women, men inside camp, logistic regression

	Any violence	Moderate violence	Severe violence
Women's autonomy			
most liberal	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
moderate	0,821 (0,393)	0,849 (0,4)	2,014 (1,349)
most conservative	1,135 (0,554)	1,01 (0,48)	2,765 (1,729)
Attitude violence			
most negative	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
more positive	0,542 (0,516)	1,177 (1,032)	0,865 (1,05)
most positive	0,429 (0,439)	0,742 (0,702)	2,443 (3,077)
Attitude towards daughters spouse (1= family's decision)	3,768 ** (1,608)	3,269 ** (1,334)	2,888 * (1,534)
Family size (1=5+)	2,331 * (0,947)	2,324 * (0,925)	2,447 (1,301)
Education (1 = high education)	0,298 ** (0,137)	0,344 * (0,155)	0,088 * (0,088)
Asset index			
0	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
1	0,682 (0,314)	0,764 (0,345)	0,503 (0,317)
2	1,047 (0,511)	1,143 (0,544)	1,315 (0,809)
Employment (1= unemployed)	4,234 * (2,898)	4,038 * (2,689)	16,88 ** (15,973)
Age	0,952 ** (0,018)	0,957 * (0,017)	0,931 ** (0,024)
Governorate			
Amman	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Balqa	0,453 (0,281)	0,606 (0,36)	0,329 (0,247)
Zarqa	0,166 ** (0,103)	0,215 ** (0,128)	0,445 (0,334)
Madaba	NA	NA	NA
Irbid	0,39 (0,261)	0,395 (0,256)	0,565 (0,494)
Jarash	0,322 (0,22)	0,295 (0,196)	0,774 (0,619)
Constant	23,43 * (30,865)	7,396 (9,108)	1,245 (2,006)
N	165	165	165

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

NA= Not available

Standard errors are given in brackets. ref. denotes reference category.

Source: Fafo AIS 2011/ 2012

Any Violence:

- I. The odds ratio between men who believe that the girl should choose a husband and men who believe that the family should decide a girl's husband is 3.768. This means that the odds for perpetrating any violence increases with 278 per cent on average among men who believe that the family should decide the girl's husband compared to men who believe that the girl should chose her own husband. It has to be noted however, that the standard error is rather high, making the estimator more uncertain.
- II. The odds ratio between men with low education and men with high education is 0.298. This means that the odds for perpetrating any violence decreases with 70.2 per cent on average among men in the high education group compared to men in the low education group.

Moderate Violence:

- I. The odds ratio between men who believe that the girl should choose a husband and men who believe that the family should decide a girl's husband is 3.269. This means that the odds for perpetrating moderate violence increases with 269 per cent on average among men who believe that the family should decide the girl's husband compared to men who believe that the girl should chose her own husband.
- II. The odds ratio between men with low education and men with high education is 0.344. This means that the odds for perpetrating any violence decreases with 66 per cent on average among men in the high education group compared to men in the low education group.

Severe Violence:

- I. The odds ratio between men with low education and men with high education is 0.088. This means that the odds for perpetrating severe violence decreases with 91.2 per cent for on average among men in the high education group compared to men in the low education group.
- II. The odds ratio between employed men and unemployed men is 16.88. This means that the odds for perpetrating severe violence increases with 1588 per cent on average

among unemployed man compared to employed men. However, the standard error is very high, making the estimate uncertain.

8.2.3 Women Outside Camps

Table 8.3 shows the results of logistic regression on three different dependent variables.(1) Women who have experienced any form of violence (2) Women who have experienced moderate form of violence (3) Women who have experienced severe form of violence

Table 8.3: Ever Experienced Physical Violence, Women Outside Camp, Logistic Regression

	Any violence	Moderate violence	Severe violence	
Women's autonomy				
most liberal	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
moderate	0,594 (0,195)	0,598 (0,197)	0,686 (0,397)	
most conservative	0,27 * (0,164)	0,112 ** (0,087)	0,908 (0,768)	
Freedom of movement (1= any restrictions)	1,294 ** (0,125)	1,299 ** (0,126)	1,144 (0,173)	
Family size (1=5+)	1,438 (0,272)	1,425 (0,271)	1,191 (0,369)	
Education (1= high education)	0,664 * (0,132)	0,65 * (0,13)	0,275 ** (0,11)	**
Asset index				
0	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
1	0,703 (0,162)	0,722 (0,168)	0,388 (0,14)	**
2	0,619 (0,153)	0,607 * (0,15)	0,494 (0,198)	
Employment (1= unemployed)	1,307 (0,524)	1,234 (0,496)	0,947 (0,759)	
Age	0,993 (0,008)	0,992 (0,008)	0,986 (0,014)	
Governorate				
Amman	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
Zarqa	1,054 (0,241)	1,146 (0,264)	0,4 (0,189)	
Irbid	1,01 (0,225)	1,045 (0,234)	1,958 (0,644)	*
Constant	0,917 (0,502)	0,968 (0,532)	0,407 (0,398)	
N	520	520	520	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

NA= Not available

Standard errors are given in brackets. ref. denotes reference category.

Source: Fafo AIS

Any Violence:

- I. The odds ratio between women with the most conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy and women with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy is 0.27. This means that the odds for being victim of any violence decreases with 73 per cent on average among women with most conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy compared to women with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy.
- II. The odds ratio between women with low education and women with high education is 0.664. This means that the odds for being victim of any violence decreases with 33.7 per cent for on average among women in the high education group compared to women in the low education group.

Moderate Violence

- I. The odds ratio between women with the most conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy and women with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy is 0.112. This means that the odds for being victim of moderate violence decreases with 99.8 per cent on average among women with most conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy compared to women with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy.
- II. The odds ratio between women with low education and women with high education is 0.65. This means that the odds for being victim of moderate violence decreases with 35 per cent for on average among women in the high education group compared to women in the low education group.

Severe Violence

- I. The odds ratio between women with low education and women with high education is 0.275. This means that the odds for being victim of severe violence decreases with 72.5 per cent for on average among women in the high education group compared to women in the low education group.

Table 8.4: Ever Experienced Physical Violence, Women in Camp, Logistic Regression

	Any violence	Moderate violence	Severe violence
Women's autonomy			
most liberal	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
moderate	1,03 (0,328)	1,044 (0,33)	0,934 (0,382)
most conservative	4,087 (3,312)	2,817 (1,972)	1,546 (-0,909)
Freedom of movement (1= any restrictions)	0,879 (0,099)	0,922 (0,102)	0,896 (0,126)
Family size (1= 5+)	1,738 * (0,393)	1,767 * (0,396)	0,908 (0,254)
Education (1= high education)	0,77 (0,183)	0,794 (0,187)	0,371 ** (0,131)
Asset index			
0	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
1	0,995 (0,282)	1,006 (0,281)	0,602 (0,206)
2	0,97 (0,261)	1,113 (0,296)	0,535 (0,18)
Employment (1= unemployed)	1,409 (0,715)	1,299 (0,657)	1,162 (0,912)
Age	0,981 (0,01)	0,982 (0,01)	0,986 (0,013)
Governorate			
Amman	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Balqa	0,36 ** (0,131)	0,405 * (0,143)	0,459 (0,192)
Zarqa	0,208 *** (0,073)	0,241 *** (0,082)	0,335 ** (0,131)
Madaba	1,448 (1,684)	1,78 (2,061)	0,806 (0,977)
Irbid	0,613 (0,238)	0,711 (0,268)	0,39 * (0,180)
Jarash	0,336 ** (0,134)	0,387 * (0,149)	0,449 (0,196)
Constant	3,718 (2,743)	2,748 (2,003)	1,402 (1,432)
N	399	399	399

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

NA= Not available

Standard errors are given in brackets. ref. denotes reference category.

Source: Fafo AIS

8.2.4 Women Inside Camps

Any Violence

None of the variables associated with the hypotheses are statistically significant.

Moderate Violence

None of the variables associated with the hypotheses are statistically significant.

Severe violence

- I. The odds ratio between women with low education and women with high education is 0.371. This means that the odds for being victim of severe violence decreases with 62.9 per cent for on average among women in the high education group compared to women in the low education group.

8.3 Keeping or Rejecting the Hypotheses

Based on the findings presented above, I will now go through the hypotheses to determine whether they can be kept or must be rejected.

H1a) *Men with conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy will perpetrate more violence than men with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected.

If the patriarchal theory was correct we would expect all conservative men, both inside and outside the camps, to have higher odds for perpetrating violence, which they do not. Patriarchal theory states that men use violence as a means to dominate and subordinate women, which has been thoroughly argued in chapter three. However, as none of the results are statistically significant the hypothesis is rejected.

H1b) *Women with conservative attitudes toward women's autonomy will be subjected to less violence than women with liberal attitudes toward women's autonomy.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected, because of the conflicting results. The most conservative women outside the camps have significantly *lower* odds for being subjected to any and moderate violence. This result is in accordance with the hypothesis. The mechanisms which was proposed was that conservative women will act in accordance with conservative gender norms in the Jordanian society and as a result the men will not feel the need to “correct” them for their transgressions of gender norms (Rani, Bonu, and Diop-Sidibe 2004, Kurz 1989).

However, the opposite result is found among women inside the camps. Inside the camps the most conservative women have significantly *higher* odds for being subjected to any violence, which is opposite of what was hypothesized. One possible explanation could be that conservative women are married to conservative men, and that conservative men perpetrate more violence. Further, the reason for these two opposing mechanisms inside and outside the camps could be that the different contexts moderate the effect of conservative attitudes. However, as Dutton argues, when any results can be used to support a preconceived theoretical position (Dutton 2005) the precise mechanism has probably not been isolated.

H2) *Women whose movement is restricted will experience more violence than women whose movement is not restricted.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected. None of the women, neither inside nor outside the camps, whose movement is restricted, have significantly higher odds for experiencing violence. One should have expected that the women whose movements are restricted by a male, which clearly is an expression of patriarchal control, should have an increased risk of experiencing violence. However, the findings from the analysis do not support that patriarchal control of movement is positively associated with violence. Whether a man's restriction of women's movements should in itself be regarded as violence is of course an important discussion, however not within the scope of this thesis.

H3) *Men who believe that the family should decide a girl's husband will perpetrate more violence than men who believe that the girl should decide for herself.*

The hypothesis is partly confirmed. Men inside the camps who believe that the family should decide a girl's husband have significantly higher odds for perpetrating violence, however only any and moderate violence, and not severe violence. This finding is in line with the feminist hypothesis. However, as men outside the camps who believe that the family should decide a girl's husband do not have significantly higher odds for perpetrating violence, neither moderate nor severe, the robustness of the finding is questioned. It is therefore not possible to conclude from the results to this hypothesis that conservative attitudes are positively associated with higher risk of violence, as it is only valid for Palestinian men inside the camps, and only with regards to a specific form of violence. It is necessary to further investigate what it is with the context of the camps that affect the explanatory value of the variable.

H4) *Men with positive attitudes toward the use of violence against women will perpetrate more violence than men who are negative toward the use of violence against women.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected as the results do not confirm the hypothesis are inconsistent, and highly illogical.

First, men inside the camps with positive attitudes toward violence do not have significantly higher odds for perpetrating violence. The result is contrary to one of the key assumptions of patriarchal theory, namely that men who believe that they have the right to use force against women will use more force against women. The result also contradicts the research on attitudes toward violence in Jordan, where attitudes are treated as a proxy for violence. The results for men inside the camps do not support the connection between personal attitudes toward violence and actual violence. Second, men outside the camps with positive attitudes toward the use of violence actually have significantly *lower* odds for perpetrating violence. Any policy recommendations based on these results, if we were to take them face value, would be to support men's positive attitudes toward violence. This finding clearly contradicts the feminists' theoretical assumption. However, as the result is not only contrary to the hypothesis, but also highly counter-intuitive, some further explanation is needed.

One possible explanation could be that there is something wrong with the index which measures men's attitudes toward violence. However, when the reliability of the index was tested, the Cronbach's Alpha returned a score of 0.94 both inside and outside the camps, indicating sufficient internal consistency. However, even if the internal consistency of the index is high it does not mean that the questions measure what they are intended to measure, which is the second explanation. The intention of the index is to measure individual attitudes toward the use of violence. However, the wording of the introduction to the questions can create confusion. Men and women are asked if they think it is appropriate for a husband to hit or beat his wife if she does this or that. I would argue that it is possible to interpret this question in two ways. First, "would you beat your wife".../ "do you think it is ok if your husband beat"... This wording measures an individual man's personal attitudes toward violent sanctions of different behaviors by his wife, or an individual woman's personal attitudes toward accepting that her husband violently sanctions her for her behaviors. Second, it is possible to understand the initial wording of the question as asking about the *society's* norms regarding violent sanctions of women. In this case what the questions actually measure is whether the individual knows if violence against women in Jordan is positively sanctioned, which it is, according to the research in chapter four and . The law does not always protect women from domestic violence, and religious institutions are known to positively sanction it (Amawi 2000). The argument in this case would be that the more aware a person is of the laws and religious prevailing norms in Jordan the more "positive" the person would score on the index. The inconsistencies between attitudes and actions are very important to address.

There are two interesting things to note about these results. First, the inconsistencies between attitudes and actions might be because the hypothetical phenomenon which is the focus of research does not accurately capture the real-life phenomenon (Ajzwn and Fishbein 2005). Questions measuring attitudes must be much more precise. And second, that the wordings of the questions can actually alter the results. A study of 62 demography and health surveys revealed that how the questions were formulated had a significant effect on the results (Yount et al. 2011). The implication of these studies is that one should be very cautious with reading too much into people's attitudes toward violence. The fact that so many studies in Jordan focus primarily on attitudes as a proxy for violence is highly problematic, and will be discussed further.

H5a) *Men with higher education perpetrate the same amount of violence than men with lower education.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected. Men inside the camps with higher education have statistically lower odds for perpetrating any, moderate, and severe violence, and men outside the camps with higher education have significantly lower odds for perpetrating severe violence. There are two important implications with this finding. First, previous research on violence in Jordan has not found men's education to be significantly associated with violence, even though education is possibly the most important and consistent finding from the analysis conducted in this thesis. Second, the findings point in the direction that the characteristics of the perpetrator of the moderate violence and the severe violence may in fact be quite different, as proposed by Johnson (2008) in chapter two, since men both outside and inside the camps with higher education have significantly lower odds for perpetrating severe violence. I will return to this in hypothesis H7.

H5b) *Women with higher education are subjected to less violence than women with lower education.*

This hypothesis is to a large degree confirmed. Women outside the camps with higher education have significantly lower odds for being victims of any, moderate and severe violence, whereas women inside camps with higher education have significantly lower odds of being victims of severe violence. The results can be interpreted in light of female empowerment in a patriarchal culture. The family violence researchers argued as well that education empowered women, and the finding can thus be interpreted in light of the family violence perspective. However, an argument can be made that since the most robust finding with regards to women's education is the protective force of higher education against *severe* violence, and not *moderate* violence, as is seen among the women inside the camps, a *gendered* empowerment interpretation is probably the most likely, than a strict socioeconomic interpretation.

H6a) *Unemployed men perpetrate more violence than men who are employed.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected as the results are conflicting. On the one hand unemployment does not result in higher odds for perpetrating any acts of violence outside the camps. On one hand we see that unemployed men in camp have much higher odds for perpetrating all acts of violence compared to employed men. However the standard errors and the confidence intervals are generally very large, and extremely large with regards to severe violence. There are indications from the descriptive statistics that the camp population in general is more conservative than the outside camp population, and therefore that the traditional male role as provider of the family may explain why unemployment is significantly associated with violence inside the camps and not outside the camps. This interpretation is also strengthened by the findings from hypothesis 3) which found that men who expressed patriarchal attitudes toward who should decide a girl's husband had significantly higher odds for perpetrating any and moderate violence. The conclusions from these two hypotheses form an argument that patriarchal attitudes may heighten the odds for perpetrating moderate violence among men residing inside the refugee camps.

H6b) *Women who are employed are subjected to more violence than unemployed women.*

The hypothesis has to be rejected as there is no evidence that employment increases women's risk for experiencing any form of violence, neither for the women living inside the camps, nor the women living outside the camps. The results for women are strong enough in order to reject the hypothesis as there is no significant difference between employed and unemployed women, neither inside nor outside the camps. The mechanism proposed for why employment was expected to increase a women's risk of experiencing violence was a breach of rigid gender roles in a gender conservative society. However, as the analysis could not control for the symbolic aspect of women's employment, as argued by the feminist researchers in chapter two, the variable has not provide satisfactory answers to the risk of female employment in a patriarchal society.

H7) *The etiology of moderate violence will differ from that of severe violence.*

The hypothesis is to a large degree confirmed. The answer to this hypothesis is based on the conclusions from the other hypotheses above. What we see when a distinction between

moderate and severe acts of violence is introduced, is that the results of the analysis change in several ways. First, three of the variables would not have produced statistically significant results, which arguably would have stripped the data from important variations that are there. Nor would attitudes toward women among men inside the camps, men's higher education outside the camps, and women's higher education inside the camps would not have produced statistically significant results if a conflated dependent variable formed the basis of the analysis. Second, no attention would have been drawn to the different effect of higher education on the risk of severe violence versus moderate violence. When distinguishing between moderate and severe violence it becomes clear that one of the most robust findings from the analysis is that women's higher education may protect women from severe violence, but not from moderate violence, and similarly that higher education for men reduces the chances for perpetrating severe violence, but not moderate violence. And third, a conflated dependent variable would have missed an important aspect regarding the effect of large families on violence. What we see is that women in large families both inside and outside the camps have higher odds for experiencing moderate, but not severe violence. While it remains unexplained what the mechanisms behind this finding are it illustrates the values of Johnson's distinctions.

8.4 Summary of Research Findings

The previous section attempted to answer the hypotheses from chapter five. What we see is that the majority of the hypotheses are rejected because of inconsistent findings from the logistic regression analysis, for both men and women, both inside and outside the camps. The answer to research question number one is that the explanations proposed by patriarchal theory for why Palestinian men beat their wives are limited in these data sets. However, still some of the results points in the direction that patriarchal theory might still be relevant when trying to explain men's violence. Especially we see that patriarchal attitudes explain more of the moderate violence inside the camps than outside. This coincides with the descriptive statistics where both patriarchal values are more widespread and that the prevalence of moderate violence is higher. However, what stands out as most important from the analysis is how the introduction of a qualitative distinction between moderate and severe violence adds valuable insight into the characteristics of both the victims and perpetrators of violence. The two most consistent findings are how men and women's higher education are positively associated with lower odds of experiencing severe violence, either as perpetrator or victim,

and that larger families are positively associated with higher odds of moderate violence. These results indicate that there might indeed be an important qualitative aspect with both the perpetrator and victim of violence which is missed when conflating moderate and severe violence into “violence”.

The next chapter will discuss the findings from this chapter in light of theoretical and methodological insights from chapter two, and three in light of the findings from the Jordanian research on violence. In this part I discuss why patriarchal theory receives so little support from my data set when the majority of the previous research has found this theoretical approach to be fruitful.

9 Discussion

The research findings from the analysis in this thesis are quite surprising when viewed in light of how patriarchal the Jordanian society is, and the concrete findings from research on violence against women in Jordan. How is it possible to understand the findings from this thesis in light of the other findings from MENA and Jordan?

First, the analyses show that attitudes toward women's autonomy do not contribute much toward explaining why Palestinian men beat their wives. The assumption that men with patriarchal attitudes regarding women's autonomy were more likely to beat their wives was supported both by theory on the patriarchy in the MENA, and empirical findings from Jordan. However, when looking more closely at the findings from Jordan the argument is predominantly based on research on *attitudes* toward women, where positive attitudes are treated as a proxy for actual violence, and are not based on research on the direct link between patriarchal attitudes and violence. Treating attitudes as a proxy for violence is as we remember common for feminist research on violence (Jasinski, Williams, and Finkelhor 1998). The association between attitudes toward violence and actual violence is however not found in this thesis. As we remember from the previous chapter men with *positive* attitudes actually have *lower* odds for perpetrating violence, which is completely counter intuitive. This finding questions the validity of treating attitudes of violence as a proxy, which will break the assumed connection between patriarchal attitudes toward women in general and violence against women.

There are two important aspects to remember when discussing the research on attitudes toward violence. First of all the nationally representative surveys have found that violence is widely accepted in Jordan. 70-90 per cent of the women accept violence. The same numbers are confirmed in several other studies, with various samples as discussed in chapter four. However, the majority of the research which tries to explain the causes of positive attitudes toward violence is primarily based on small non-randomized samples, like Haj-Yahia (2008, Haj-Yahia 2002, Haj-Yahia 2005, 2000). The results of these studies, however not generalizable to the population, are often treated as representative for the entire population. Even if the non-representative studies in many cases present numbers similar to the nationally representative studies it does not mean that the conclusions they make would be the same if

the samples were based on randomly selected individuals. The fact that many of these non-randomized samples have been able to dominate the research on violence in Jordan is problematic, because they might have accredited more general explanatory power to patriarchy for causing men to beat than what is necessarily possible to conclude from their studies. Second of all, the prevalence estimates of attitudes toward violence in societies where the overall acceptance of violence is very high like in Jordan, may predict the *general* level of violence in a society, however, I would argue that the attitudes in these places are less suited to predict the individual's risk of violence, as corresponds with the findings in this thesis. The feminist argument that attitudes and actual violence are related, are based on studies in societies where violence is to a great extent a breach of norms, whereas one should be weary of assuming the same in societies where acceptance of violence is extremely high, and therefore obviously not in contradiction with the societal norms.

Second, it is unexpected in light of patriarchal theory that the variable on women's freedom is not significantly associated with violence. If we accept that the connection between attitudes and action is not always easy to make, as discussed in the previous chapter, we would still assume that patriarchal *actions* are associated with the heightened risk of violence for a women. However, the results of the analysis prove otherwise. One explanation for why this variable is not significant may relate to an the important argument made by Johnson (2008) in chapter two, where he argued that one weakness with quantitative method when investigating violence is that the sample is biased. Some groups will refuse to participate in surveys. And further that it is expected that the groups that are most severely abused will refuse to participate. It might be that women whose movements are restricted are to a large degree excluded in the sample because very patriarchal husbands will not allow them to participate. The number of women whose movements are completely restricted is not presented in this thesis; however the number is very low both inside and outside the camps, which may be a support of Johnson's argument. If Johnson's argument is indeed applicable in a Jordanian context, this can explain the lack of expected results on this variable; it is thus an important methodological insight. In order to compensate for this possible bias, men should also be asked whether they themselves restrict their wives' movements, as opposed to only asking women if their movements are restricted. It might be that the most patriarchal men would also refuse to participate, but not necessarily.

Third, neither employment, nor the asset index adds much toward explaining why Palestinian men beat their wives, which is more or less in line with previous studies of violence in Jordan. However, one important limitation of the analysis in this thesis, and the research on violence in Jordan in general, is that the symbolic aspect of these socioeconomic variables is not controlled for. We remember from chapter two the feminist researchers argued that what is really important when it comes to socioeconomic variables is the symbolic value. This aspect of how gendered structures may affect people differently according to individual dispositions has largely been ignored in research on Jordan, and therefore the possible explanation force is unknown.

Fourth, and most importantly, what stands out from the analysis is that an analytical distinction between moderate and severe violence adds important explanatory value to the analysis. What we see, as discussed above under hypothesis 7) is that without making this distinction, two variables would not have produced statistically significant results - men's attitudes toward women's autonomy (inside the camps) and men's educational level (outside the camps). More importantly, by applying this distinction the analyses produce two consistent findings: that men and women with higher education have statistically lower odds of experiencing violence, either as perpetrator or victim, and that the odds of perpetrating violence for men, and experiencing violence for women, is higher in larger families than smaller families.

The methodological decision in other research to *not* distinguish between moderate and severe violence may conflate the results, and would have conflated the results of the analyses in this thesis. Several researchers have argued that this conflation to a large degree can explain the lack of consistency between studies of domestic violence (Cano and Vivian 2001, 475, McHugh and Frieze 2006, 133). As discussed in chapter four the lack of consistent results from research on violence in Jordan has led the researcher to conclude that the violence can be explained by the patriarchal culture. However, it might be that the lack of results originates from this conflation of moderate and severe violence. Labeling all acts of violence as "violence" has two important consequences. First of all, it makes it difficult to understand the perpetrator's motivation (Johnson 1995, 292). From the results in this thesis we see for example that perpetrators of moderate and severe violence differ on educational attainment. It is not unreasonable to think that the motivation behind the violence might indeed be different. It may be that the moderate violence is primarily a result of living in a patriarchal culture of

male dominance where the use of moderate violence is largely accepted. This could explain why there is more violence in the refugee camps, where the overall acceptance of violence is higher, and patriarchal attitudes more widespread, as seen in the descriptive statistics. In addition we see that there is more severe violence inside the camps, which could be explained by the lower educational attainments altogether inside the camps.

Second of all, the effect of moderate and severe violence has most likely different effects on the victim (Johnson and Leone 2005). There is an important political aspect to this point, which follows the lines of the argument of Edward Said (2003). When all violence is conflated it portrays men as more violent, and women as more helpless, than what is necessarily the case, which arguably is in line with an *orientalist* perspective on “the Arab”. But what we see from the results of the analysis is that education has an important effect of the odds of perpetrating severe violence for men, and the odds for experiencing severe violence for women. Where other studies have been unable to find this effect of education on men, we see that by distinguishing between moderate and severe violence the protective effect of education becomes evident.

Fifth, even if the explanatory power of patriarchal theory has not received as much support from the results in this thesis as expected there are still important variations, both with regards to education as discussed above, and the effect of some of the patriarchal variables on moderate violence. And the results from the camps supported these conclusions. To conclude this part I would like to suggest that even though the majority of the hypotheses in this thesis had to be rejected there are reasons to believe that patriarchal theory still can contribute toward explaining the persistent high level of violence in the MENA. However what is needed is research which succeeds in exploring different aspects of the patriarchal structures of the MENA. The research on violence against women in Jordan, including this thesis, focuses on how patriarchal attitudes are associated with violence. However, as we remember from chapter two the feminists argue that patriarchy is both ideology and structure. And when critically evaluating the research on violence against women we see that the primary focus is on the ideology, and not the structural back-bone of this ideology. The research on violence against women needs to develop ways of understanding people’s individual patriarchal attitudes in relation to the wider societal gendered structures which prevent the women from entering the society on equal footing as men. Men’s violence against women must be understood in light of the structural discrimination which is upheld in the labor market, or in

the law, and in other important institutions in society. Research which focuses exclusively on attitudes without taking into account the structural elements is at risk of using a unified notion of patriarchy, as argued by Hunnicutt (2009, 559).

9.1 Concluding Remarks and Future Research

This thesis set out to explore violence against women in light of the feminist, patriarchal perspective. Based on literature from the region in general and previous research from Jordan, hypotheses were formulated to test the more or less well established effect of patriarchy on violence against women. With two research questions, the thesis looked both at several mechanisms pertaining to the explanatory power of feminist, patriarchal theory, and also at two different types of violence using new data from Palestinian refugees residing both inside and outside refugee camps in Jordan. In so doing, not only has this thesis evaluated the explanatory value of the patriarchal perspective, as well as Johnson's (2008) distinction between moderate and severe violence when analyzing quantitative data, it has also provided insights from the most extensive data on violence against women among Palestinians in Jordan, allowing for the first time for comparisons of representative samples inside and outside camps.

All in all the explanatory value of the patriarchal perspective has however been shown to be limited. Johnson's distinction between severe and moderate violence was on the other hand to a larger degree able to identify some specific associations. From my research it has become clear that to properly investigate the effect of patriarchal theory according to feminist perspective, additional data might have been needed. It became obvious that the patriarchal mechanisms proposed in previous literature were not sophisticated enough to account for the complexities with regards to how patriarchal attitudes and structures affect the risk of perpetrating violence.

Future research on violence against women in patriarchal societies like Jordan should collect multidimensional data in order to thoroughly investigate the combined effect of patriarchal attitudes/ideologies and structures. In order to do this information is needed on more than one individual's attitudes and socioeconomic position. The relative socioeconomic positions within families, as well as variations of patriarchal attitudes between men and women, could inform how patriarchal attitudes are both maintained and challenged, and how these movements affect the overall risk of violence among spouses. The research on violence in the

Middle Eastern and North African societies should explore this symbolic aspect further, and thus develop more stratified notions of how the patriarchy effects the risk of violence. In addition, more attention is needed to the role of the extended family in perpetuating violent relations in a patriarchal society where the role of the extended family is known to heighten the risk of violence. And lastly, research should open up for women as perpetrators of violence. Opening up for the fact that women may perpetrate violence stirred great controversy in the research field internationally and would most likely do the same in the MENA but might help us gain completely new insight into violence in a society where patriarchal characteristics are so pronounced.

10 Sources

- Ahmed, Sania Sultan, and Sally Bould. 2004. "'One Able Daughter Is Worth 10 Illiterate Sons': Reframing the Patriarchal Family." *Journal of Marriage and Family* no. 66 (5):1332-1341. doi: 10.2307/3600343.
- Ajzwn, Icek, and Martin Fishbein. 2005. "The Influence of Attitudes on Behavior " In *The Handbook of Attitudes*, edited by D Albarracin, B Johnson and M.P. Zana. Mahwah N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Akilova, Mashura, and YamileM Marti. 2014. "What is the Effect of Women's Financial Empowerment on Intimate Partner Violence in Jordan?" *Global Social Welfare* no. 1 (2):65-74. doi: 10.1007/s40609-014-0005-x.
- Al-Badayneh, Diab. 2012. "Violence Against Women in Jordan." *Journal of Family Violence* no. 27 (5):369-379. doi: 10.1007/s10896-012-9429-1.
- Al-Matalaka, Faisal Ibrahim Mohammad, and Mohammad M. Hussainat. 2013. "Attitudes of Jordanian Youth towards Violence against Women." *Asian Social Science* no. 9 (3). doi: 10.5539/ass.v9n3p192.
- Al-Modallal, H. 2012. "Patterns of coping with partner violence: experiences of refugee women in Jordan." *Public Health Nurs* no. 29 (5):403-11. doi: 10.1111/j.1525-1446.2012.01018.x.
- Al-Nsour, Mohannad, Marwan Khawaja, and Ghadah Al-Kayyali. 2009. "Domestic Violence against Women in Jordan: Evidence from Health Clinics." *Journal of Family Violence* no. 24 (8):569-575. doi: 10.1007/s10896-009-9255-2.
- Alexander, Amy C., and Christian Welzel. 2011. "Islam and patriarchy: how robust is Muslim support for patriarchal values?" *International Review of Sociology* no. 21 (2):249-276. doi: 10.1080/03906701.2011.581801.
- Amawi, Abila. 2000. "Gender and Citizenship in Jordan." In *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, edited by Suad Joseph. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.
- Anderson, Kristin L. 1997. "Gender, Status, and Domestic Violence: An Integration of Feminist and Family Violence Approaches." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* no. 59 (3):655. doi: 10.2307/353952.
- Anderson, KristinL. 2005. "Theorizing Gender in Intimate Partner Violence Research." *Sex Roles* no. 52 (11-12):853-865. doi: 10.1007/s11199-005-4204-x.
- Atkinson, Maxine P., Theodore N. Greenstein, and Molly Monahan Lang. 2005. "For Women, Breadwinning Can Be Dangerous: Gendered Resource Theory and Wife Abuse." *Journal of Marriage and Family* no. 67 (5):1137-1148. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00206.x.
- Barakat, Halim. 1993. *The Arab world: society, culture, and state*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Bates, Daniel G., and Amal Rassam. 2001. *Peoples and cultures of the Middle East*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Bograd, Michele. 2005. "Strengthening Domestic Violence Theories: Intersections of Race, Class, Sexual Orientation, and Gender." In *Domestic violence at the margins: Readings on race, class, gender, and culture*, edited by N. J. Sokoloff C. Pratt, 25-38. Piscataway, NJ, US: Rutgers University Press.
- Boy, Angie, and Andrzej Kulczycki. 2008. "What We Know About Intimate Partner Violence in the Middle East and North Africa." *Violence Against Women* no. 14 (1):53-70. doi: 10.1177/1077801207311860.

- Btoush, Rula, and Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia. 2008. "Attitudes of Jordanian Society Toward Wife Abuse." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* no. 23 (11):1531-1554. doi: 10.1177/0886260508314313.
- Cano, Annmarie, and Dina Vivian. 2001. "Life stressors and husband-to-wife violence." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* no. 6 (5):459-480. doi: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789\(00\)00017-3](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789(00)00017-3).
- Chatty, Dawn, and Gillian Lewando Hundt. 2005. "Introduction: Children of Palestine Narrate Forced Migration." In *Children of Palestine: Experiencing Forced Migration in the Middle East*, edited by Dawn and Hundt Chatty, Gillian Lewando, 1-34. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Clark, C. J., J. G. Silverman, M. Shahroui, S. Everson-Rose, and N. Groce. 2010. "The role of the extended family in women's risk of intimate partner violence in Jordan." *Social science & medicine* (1982) no. 70 (1):144-151.
- Clark, C. J., J. Silverman, I. A. Khalaf, B. A. Ra'ad, Z. A. Al Sha'ar, A. A. Al Ata, and A. Batieha. 2008. "Intimate partner violence and interference with women's efforts to avoid pregnancy in Jordan." *Stud Fam Plann* no. 39 (2):123-32.
- Clark, Cari Jo, Allan Hill, Khelda Jabbar, and Jay G. Silverman. 2009. "Violence During Pregnancy in Jordan: Its Prevalence and Associated Risk and Protective Factors." *Violence Against Women* no. 15 (6):720-735. doi: 10.1177/1077801209332191.
- DeKeseredy, W. & Schwartz, M. 1998. Measuring the Extent of Woman Abuse in Intimate Heterosexual Relationships: A Critique of the Conflict Tactics Scales. VAWnet.
- DeKeseredy, Walter S. 2011. "Feminist contributions to understanding woman abuse: Myths, controversies, and realities." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* no. 16 (4):297-302. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2011.04.002>.
- Dhaheer, Enas A., Rafael T. Mikolajczyk, Annette E. Maxwell, and Alexander Krämer. 2010. "Attitudes Toward Wife Beating Among Palestinian Women of Reproductive Age From Three Cities in West Bank." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* no. 25 (3):518-537. doi: 10.1177/0886260509334409.
- DHS, Jordan Population and Family Health Survey. 2007. Department of Statistics; Amman, Jordan and ICF International; Calverton, Maryland, USA.
- DHS, Jordan Population and Family Health Survey. 2012. Department of Statistics; Amman, Jordan and ICF International; Calverton, Maryland, USA.
- Dobash, R. Emerson, and Russell P. Dobash. 1980. *Violence against wives: a case against the patriarchy*. London: Open Books.
- Dobash, R. Emerson, and Russell P. Dobash. 1988. "The politics of Research." In *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*, edited by Kersti Yllö and Michele Bograd, 51-74. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Dutton, Donald G. 2005. "Personality Disorder and Spousal Assault." In *Current controversies on family violence*, edited by Richard J. Gelles, Donileen R. Loseke and Mary M. Cavanaugh, 5-18. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Dutton, Donald G. 2006. *Rethinking domestic violence*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Eisner, Manuel, and Lana Ghuneim. 2013. "Honor Killing Attitudes Amongst Adolescents in Amman, Jordan." *Aggressive Behavior* no. 39 (5):405-417. doi: 10.1002/ab.21485.
- Elakkary, Sally, Barbara Franke, Dina Shokri, Sven Hartwig, Michael Tsokos, and Klaus Püschel. 2014. "Honor crimes: review and proposed definition." *Forensic Science, Medicine, and Pathology* no. 10 (1):76-82. doi: 10.1007/s12024-013-9455-1.
- Ellsberg, Mary, and Heise, Lori. 2005. Researching Violence against Women - a practical guide for researchers and activists. PATH, World Health Organization

- Farah, Randa. 2005. "Palestinian Refugee Children and Caregivers in Jordan." In *Children of Palestine: Experiencing Forced Migration in the Middle East*, edited by Dawn and Hundt Chatty, Gillian Lewando, 87-121. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Gabbay, Shaul. 2014. "Forensic Sociology: The Case of Honor Killing in the Muslim World." In *Handbook of Forensic Sociology and Psychology*, edited by Stephen J. Morewitz and Mark L. Goldstein, 397-402. Springer New York.
- Gandolfo, Luisa. 2012. *Palestinians in Jordan: The Politics of Identity*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- García-Moreno, Claudia. 2002. "Violence Against Women: Consolidating a Public Health Agenda." In *Engendering international health: the challenge of equity*, edited by Gita Sen, Asha George and Pirooska Östlin, 111-141. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The interpretations of cultures: selected essays*. New York: Basic books.
- Gelles, Richard J. 1997. *Intimate violence in families*. London: Sage.
- Ghanim, David. 2013. "Gender-based Violence in the Middle East and North Africa: A Uniquitous Phenomenon." In *Gender and violence in Islamic societies: patriarchy, Islamism and politics in the Middle East and North Africa* edited by Zahia Smail Salhi, 43-61. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Gharaibeh, M., and A. Oweis. 2009. "Why do Jordanian women stay in an abusive relationship: implications for health and social well-being." *J Nurs Scholarsh* no. 41 (4):376-84. doi: 10.1111/j.1547-5069.2009.01305.x.
- Haj-Yahia, M. M. 2002. "Beliefs of Jordanian women about wife-beating." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* no. 26 (4):282-291. doi: Doi 10.1111/1471-6402.T01-1-00067.
- Haj-YAHIA, MUHAMMAD M. 1998. "Beliefs About Wife Beating Among Palestinian Women." *Violence Against Women* no. 4 (5):533-558. doi: 10.1177/1077801298004005002.
- Haj-Yahia, Muhammad M. 2000. "Wife Abuse and Battering in the Sociocultural Context of Arab Society*." *Family Process* no. 39 (2):237-255. doi: 10.1111/j.1545-5300.2000.39207.x.
- Haj-Yahia, Muhammad M. 2005. "Can people's patriarchal ideology predict their beliefs about wife abuse? The case of Jordanian men." *Journal of Community Psychology* no. 33 (5):545-567. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20068.
- Haj-Yahia, Muhammad M. 2003. "Beliefs About Wife Beating Among Arab Men from Israel: The Influence of Their Patriarchal Ideology." *Journal of Family Violence* no. 18 (4):193-206. doi: 10.1023/A:1024012229984.
- Haj-Yahja, Muhammad M. . 1997. "Predicting Beliefs About Wife Beating Among Engaged Arab Men In Israel." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* no. 12 (4):530-545. doi: 10.1177/088626097012004004.
- Haj-Yahja, Muhammad M. . 1998a. "Beliefs About Wife Beating Among Palestinian Women: The Influence of Their Patriarchal Ideology." *Violence Against Women* no. 4 (5):533-558. doi: 10.1177/1077801298004005002.
- Haj-Yahja, Muhammad M. . 1998b. "A Patriarchal Perspective of Beliefs About Wife Beating Among Palestinian Men From the West Bank and the Gaza Strip." *Journal of Family Issues* no. 19 (5):595-621. doi: 10.1177/019251398019005006.
- Hamdan-Mansour, A. M., D. H. Arabiat, T. Sato, B. Obaid, and A. Imoto. 2011. "Marital abuse and psychological well-being among women in the southern region of Jordan." *J Transcult Nurs* no. 22 (3):265-73. doi: 10.1177/1043659611404424.
- Heise, L. L. 1998. "Violence against women: an integrated, ecological framework." *Violence Against Women* no. 4 (3):262-90.

- Hoff, Lee Ann. 1988. "Building Bridges." In *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*, edited by Kersti Yllö and Michele Bograd, 269-281. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Hotaling, Gerald T., and David B. Sugarman. 1986. "An Analysis of Risk Markers in Husband to Wife Violence: The Current State of Knowledge." *Violence and Victims* no. 1 (2):101-124.
- Hunnicutt, Gwen. 2009. "Varieties of Patriarchy and Violence Against Women." *Violence Against Women* no. 15 (5):553-573. doi: 10.1177/1077801208331246.
- Jasinski, Jana L., Linda Meyer Williams, and David Finkelhor. 1998. *Partner violence: a comprehensive review of 20 years of research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Jewkes, R., J. Levin, and L. Penn-Kekana. 2002. "Risk factors for domestic violence: findings from a South African cross-sectional study." *Soc Sci Med* no. 55 (9):1603-17.
- Johnson, Michael P. 1995. "Patriarchal Terrorism and Common Couple Violence: Two Forms of Violence against Women." *Journal of Marriage and Family* no. 57 (2):283-294. doi: 10.2307/353683.
- Johnson, Michael P. 2008. *A typology of domestic violence: intimate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple violence*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Johnson, Michael P., and Janel M. Leone. 2005. "The Differential Effects of Intimate Terrorism and Situational Couple Violence: Findings From the National Violence Against Women Survey." *Journal of Family Issues* no. 26 (3):322-349. doi: 10.1177/0192513x04270345.
- Joseph, Suad. 1996. "Patriarchy and Development in the Arab World." *Gender and Development* no. 4 (2):14-19. doi: 10.2307/4030482.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1988. "Bargaining with patriarchy." *Gender & Society* no. 2 (3):274-290. doi: 10.1177/089124388002003004.
- Kaukinen, Catherine. 2004. "Status Compatibility, Physical Violence, and Emotional Abuse in Intimate Relationships." *Journal of Marriage and Family* no. 66 (2):452-471. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2004.00031.x.
- Khawaja, M. 2004. "Domestic violence in refugee camps in Jordan." *International journal of gynaecology and obstetrics: the official organ of the International Federation of Gynaecology and Obstetrics* no. 86 (1):67.
- Khawaja, Marwan, and Rana Barazi. 2005. "Prevalence of wife beating in Jordanian refugee camps: reports by men and women." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* no. 59 (10):840-841. doi: 10.1136/jech.2004.031625.
- Khawaja, Marwan, Natalia Linos, and Zeina El-Roueiheb. 2008. "Attitudes of Men and Women Towards Wife Beating: Findings From Palestinian Refugee Camps in Jordan." *Journal of Family Violence* no. 23 (3):211-218. doi: 10.1007/s10896-007-9146-3.
- Kimmerling, Baruch, and Joel S. Migdal. 2003. *The Palestinian People: a history*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Krug, E., Dahlberg, L., Mercy, J., Zwi, A., & Lozano, R. 2002. *World report on violence and health*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.
- Kulczycki, A., and S. Windle. 2011. "Honor killings in the Middle East and North Africa: a systematic review of the literature." *Violence Against Women* no. 17 (11):1442-64. doi: 10.1177/1077801211434127.
- Kurz, Demie. 1989. "Social Science Perspectives on Wife Abuse: Current Debates and Future Directions." *Gender & Society* no. 3 (4):489-505. doi: 10.1177/089124389003004007.
- Lawson, Jennifer. 2012. "Sociological Theories of Intimate Partner Violence." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* no. 22 (5):572-590. doi: 10.1080/10911359.2011.598748.

- Linós, N., M. Khawaja, and M. Al-Nsour. 2010. "Women's autonomy and support for wife beating: findings from a population-based survey in Jordan." *Violence Vict* no. 25 (3):409-19.
- Loseke, Donileen R., and Demie Kurz. 2005. "Men's Violence Toward Women Is the Serious Social Problem." In *Current controversies on family violence*, edited by Richard J. Gelles, Donileen R. Loseke and Mary M. Cavanaugh, 79-95. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Lundgren, Eva, Russell P. Dobash, and R. Emerson Dobash. 1998. *Rethinking violence against women*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Macmillan, Ross, and Rosemary Gartner. 1999. "When She Brings Home the Bacon: Labor-Force Participation and the Risk of Spousal Violence against Women." *Journal of Marriage and Family* no. 61 (4):947-958.
- Marcus, Gaby and Braaf, Rochelle. 2007. Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse. Australian domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse.
- Markowitz, FredE. 2001. "Attitudes and Family Violence: Linking Intergenerational and Cultural Theories." *Journal of Family Violence* no. 16 (2):205-218. doi: 10.1023/A:1011115104282.
- McCleary-Sills, Jennifer. 2013. "Jordanian social norms and the risk of intimate partner violence and limited reproductive agency." *Journal of International Women's Studies* no. 14 (2):12-29. doi: 10.1007/s40609-014-0005-x.
- McHugh, Maureen C., and Irene Hanson Frieze. 2006. "Intimate Partner Violence." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* no. 1087 (1):121-141. doi: 10.1196/annals.1385.011.
- McHugh, Maureen C., Nichole A. Livingston, and Amy Ford. 2005. "A POSTMODERN APPROACH TO WOMEN'S USE OF VIOLENCE: DEVELOPING MULTIPLE AND COMPLEX CONCEPTUALIZATIONS." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* no. 29 (3):323-336. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00226.x.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. 2004. "Patriarchy in Transition: Women and the Changing Family in the Middle East." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* no. 35 (2):137-162.
- Morse, D. S., Y. Paldi, S. S. Egbarya, and C. J. Clark. 2012. "'An effect that is deeper than beating': family violence in Jordanian women." *Fam Syst Health* no. 30 (1):19-31. doi: 10.1037/a0027137.
- MRGI, Minority Rights Group International. NY. Available from <http://www.minorityrights.org/4945/jordan/palestinians.html>.
- Nadjaj, Fatma Zohra Mebtouche. 2013. "The Insidious Violence: A Study of Husband-Wife Power in the Algerian Context." In *Gender and violence in Islamic societies: patriarchy, Islamism and politics in the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Zahia Smail Salhi, 196-238. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Naved, Ruchira Tabassum, and Lars Ake Persson. 2010. "Dowry and Spousal Physical Violence Against Women in Bangladesh." *Journal of Family Issues* no. 31 (6):830-856. doi: 10.1177/0192513x09357554.
- Okour, A. M., and R. Badarneh. 2011. "Spousal violence against pregnant women from a Bedouin community in Jordan." *J Womens Health (Larchmt)* no. 20 (12):1853-9. doi: 10.1089/jwh.2010.2588.
- Oweis, A., M. Gharaibeh, A. Al-Natour, and E. Froelicher. 2009. "Violence against women: unveiling the suffering of women with a low income in Jordan." *J Transcult Nurs* no. 20 (1):69-76. doi: 10.1177/1043659608325848.
- Oweis, Arwa, Muntaha Gharaibeh, and Rudaina Alhourani. 2010. "Prevalence of Violence During Pregnancy: Findings from a Jordanian Survey." *Maternal and Child Health Journal* no. 14 (3):437-445. doi: 10.1007/s10995-009-0465-2.

- Pagelow, Mildred Daley, and Lloyd W. Pagelow. 1984. *Family violence*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Rani, Manju, Sekhar Bonu, and Nafissatou Diop-Sidibe. 2004. "An Empirical Investigation of Attitudes towards Wife-Beating among Men and Women in Seven Sub-Saharan African Countries." *African Journal of Reproductive Health / La Revue Africaine de la Santé Reproductive* no. 8 (3):116-136. doi: 10.2307/3583398.
- Rubenberg, Cheryl A. 2001. *Palestinian women: patriarchy and resistance in the West Bank*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.
- Ryan, Curtis R. 2007. "'Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan'." In *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by David E.; Reich Long, Bernard; Gasiorowski, Mark, 292-314. Boulder CO: Westview Press.
- Safadi, R., V. Swigart, A. M. Hamdan-Mansour, R. Banimustafa, and R. E. Constantino. 2013. "An ethnographic-feminist study of Jordanian women's experiences of domestic violence and process of resolution." *Health Care Women Int* no. 34 (9):775-94. doi: 10.1080/07399332.2012.673661.
- Sahn, David E., and David Stifel. 2003. "Exploring Alternative Measures of Welfare in the Absence of Expenditure Data." *Review of Income and Wealth* no. 49 (4):463-489. doi: 10.1111/j.0034-6586.2003.00100.x.
- Said, Edward W. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Salhi, Zahia Smail. 2013a. *Gender and violence in Islamic societies: patriarchy, Islamism and politics in the Middle East and North Africa*. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Salhi, Zahia Smail. 2013b. "Gender and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa: Negotiating with Patriarchal States and Islamism." In *Gender and violence in Islamic societies: patriarchy, Islamism and politics in the Middle East and North Africa* edited by Zahia Smail Salhi, 12-42. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Saunders, D. G., A. B. Lynch, M. Grayson, and D. Linz. 1987. "The inventory of beliefs about wife beating: the construction and initial validation of a measure of beliefs and attitudes." *Violence Vict* no. 2 (1):39-57.
- Saunders, Daniel G. 1988. "Wife Abuse, Husband Abuse, or Mutual Combat? A Feminist Perspective on the Empirical Findings." In *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*, edited by Kersti Yllö and Michele Bograd, 90-113. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Sharabi, Hisham. 1988. *Neopatriarchy: a theory of distorted change in Arab society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Skog, Ole-Jørgen. 2004. *Å forklare sosiale fenomener: en regresjonsbasert tilnærming*. Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.
- Smith, M. D. 1990. "Patriarchal ideology and wife beating: a test of a feminist hypothesis." *Violence Vict* no. 5 (4):257-73.
- Steinmetz, Suzanne K. 1980. "Women and violence: Victims and perpetrators." *American Journal of Psychotherapy*.
- Straus, Murray A. 1979. "Measuring Intrafamily Conflict and Violence: The Conflict Tactics (CT) Scales." *Journal of Marriage and Family* no. 41 (1):75-88. doi: 10.2307/351733.
- Straus, Murray A. 2005. "Women's Violence Against Men Is a Serious Social Problem." In *Current controversies on family violence*, edited by Richard J. Gelles, Donileen R. Loseke and Mary M. Cavanaugh, 55-77. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Straus, Murray A., and Gerald T. Hotaling. 1980. *The Social causes of husband - wife violence*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Straus, Murray Arnold. 1990. "Social Stress and Marital Violence in a National Sample of American Families." In *Physical violence in American families: risk factors and*

- adaptations to violence in 8,145 families*, edited by Murray Arnold Straus, Richard J. Gelles and Christine Smith, 181-199. New Brunswick, N. J.: Transaction Publishers.
- Sugarman, David B., and Susan L. Frankel. 1996. "Patriarchal ideology and wife-assault: A meta-analytic review." *Journal of Family Violence* no. 11 (1):13-40. doi: 10.1007/BF02333338.
- Tiltne, Åge, and Zhang Huafeng. 2013. Progress, challenges, diversity - Insights into the socio-economic conditions of Palestinian refugees in Jordan. In *Fafo rapport 42* Fafo.
- Treacher, Amal. 2003. "Reading the Other Women, Feminism, and Islam." *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* no. 4 (1):59-71. doi: 10.1080/15240650409349215.
- UNRWA, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Refugees in the Near East. *Jordan Camp Profiles* NY. Available from www.unwra.org/where-we-work/jordan/camp-profiles?field=13.
- Vyas, Seema, and Charlotte Watts. 2009. "How does economic empowerment affect women's risk of intimate partner violence in low and middle income countries? A systematic review of published evidence." *Journal of International Development* no. 21 (5):577-602. doi: 10.1002/jid.1500.
- World Bank. *Data: Country and Lending Groups* 2004. Available from http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-and-lending-groups#Upper_middle_income.
- Yllö, Kersti. 1988. "Political and Methodological Debates in Wife Abuse Research." In *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*, edited by Michele Bograd, 28-50. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Yllö, Kersti A. . 2005. "Through a Feminist lens: Gender, Diversity, and Violence: Extending the Feminist Framework." In *Current controversies on family violence*, edited by Richard J. Gelles, Donileen R. Loseke and Mary M. Cavanaugh, 19-34. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Yount, Kathryn M., Nafisa Halim, Michelle Hynes, and Emily R. Hillman. 2011. "Response effects to attitudinal questions about domestic violence against women: A comparative perspective." *Social Science Research* no. 40 (3):873-884. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.12.009>.
- Øvensen, Geir. 2006. An asset index for the Syrian 2003 Unemployment Survey A background paper on the construction of an asset index for measuring household's long-term wealth Fafo Applied International Studies.

All references listed in this thesis have been reported

Word count 27,298